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STUDIES IN THE MIND OF ROMANTICISM

I. ROMANTIC MOTIVES OF CONDUCT IN CONCRETE DEVELOPMENT

THE LETTERS OF HEINRICH VON KLEIST TO WILHELMINE VON ZENGE

Romanticism as such is not limited to any particular age or nation or condition of culture. It is one of a few fundamental frames of mind and is characteristic of a certain type of intelligence. No epoch in the history of civilization has been without its Romantic phase. The most important manifestation of Romanticism in modern history was the Romantic movement, which began in England and France in the eighteenth century and reached its culmination in Germany in the last generation of the eighteenth and the first generation of the nineteenth century. It is the purpose of the present series of studies to scrutinize afresh a number of fundamental factors in the Romantic view and conduct of life, in the hope of advancing, by scrupulous discernment of that which is specific and characteristic, the understanding of Romanticism.

Romanticism, in extreme consistency, is subjective monism. It assumes that the primary reality is exclusively inherent—or, in the view of its more moderate advocates, exclusively cognizable—in the “inner” consciousness, which manifests itself in acts of immediate apperception or intuition. This “inner” consciousness is the

Romantic essence of personality. It is spiritual in quality, being, in fact, regarded as an integral part of the spirit of God.¹

This inner being, like objective reality, has three principal parts, the intellectual, the emotional, and the ethical. Its intellectual organ is the "soul" or "spirit." These two terms among the Romantics are interchangeable. The emotional part is embodied in the "heart"; the ethical in the "absolute freedom" of the will.

The term *Vernunft*, meaning the "highest reason," occurs frequently in Romantic speech. It is always interpreted as incompatible with the *Verstand*, the analytic understanding, the specific organ of the rationalism of the "enlightenment," archfoe of Romanticism; and is superior to it. In Romanticism the *Vernunft* is the supreme faculty of intelligence, uniting all the parts of the "inner" being in immediate synthetic apperception. The Romantic *Vernunft* is thus the intelligent faculty in which the "soul," the "heart," and the "absolute will" attain identity. This use of *Vernunft*, apart from the Romantic development of the term "emotion," one of the constituents of *Vernunft*, is fundamentally not so much a perversion of Kantian terminology as one might suppose at first glance.

The paradox of absolute totalistic identities and absolute essential differences, mutually inherent in these primary terms of Romanticism, which is characteristic of this or any other monism, leads to the peculiar shiftiness and the topical paucity and false simplicity of its theories.

In Romantic literary practice *Vernunft* is not essentially differentiated from "soul," "heart," or "freedom." But on account of its ancient rationalistic pedigree it is much less used than the other terms. The "soul," whose terminological pedigree is unbroken, is generally employed as the agent of the total, spontaneous consciousness of the inner being.

The "inner" being, in all and in any of its terms, including *Vernunft*, finds its complete embodiment in "Nature." And in the same manner in which the individual "soul" or "spirit" is an integral part of the "soul" or "spirit" of God, the over-soul, each individual "nature" is an integral part of the universal nature. Likewise the absolute primacy of the universal or divine spirit in its relation to

¹ Cf. Emerson's essay on "Compensation."

universal nature is repeated in the primacy of each individual spirit in relation to its individual nature. Nature is thus the symbol of the soul. Romanticism is nature animism. It follows from this that "nature" offers the complete and sufficient tangible evidence of the soul. The laws of nature, therefore, must be the laws of the inner being. Nature embodies and manifests all the fundamental truths, motives, and standards of conduct.

Nature thus, in the Romantic view, is not primarily part of external or objective reality, but merely the outer or sense-form of the "inner" or spiritual reality. It is inner being in terms of sense. "Nature" and "inner," or "inmost" being become interchangeable. Organic functions and spiritual emotions become identical. Spiritual integrity becomes a term of organic totality, and vice versa. "Organic" and "intrinsic" become synonymous terms. All the organic properties of the nature of sense are immediately transferable, by symbolic metathesis, to the integral motives of the inner being, and vice versa.

Integrity is to the mind of the Romanticist the quality of only those acts which are the immediate resultants of the spontaneous push of the totality of his nature. This totality is beyond the analytic understanding, a mystic force, amenable only to the immediate apperception and expression of the soul. Its specific manifestation is its indissoluble spontaneous oneness of impulse. Only in complete loyalty and obedience to spontaneous impulse does the Romanticist acknowledge and follow the supreme law of his and in that of universal being. In this sense integrity to him is complete naturalness. The Romanticist denies original sin; he asserts original godliness.

The supreme authority and integrity of impulse implies freedom from external, objective, mediate motives or standards of truth and conduct. "Nature" thus becomes the warrant for the exclusion of any objective force or factor at variance with spontaneous desire; of any external demand for adaptation or restraint; of any call from the environment for subjective submission to objective ends. It becomes the ultimate title for the glorification of the withdrawal into self-centered states of mind. It is the realm of an absolutely ego-centric view of life.

This definition of the nature and scope of the inner being, characteristic of Romanticism, determines a corresponding definition of the opposite, external, or objective reality as a whole and in all its parts and properties. This is by the Romanticists called the "world." The intellectual organ of the "world," the understanding (*Verstand*), the chief faculty of rationalism, is therefore, by the Romantic intensification of its terms, interpreted as the absolute opposite and antagonist of the "soul." It does not act by the immediate, totalistic, spontaneous unity of self-awareness, characteristic of the soul, but by indirect, analytic, critical isolation of elements. Its method is atomistic and quantitative, whereas that of Romanticism is unitarian and qualitative. Intellectually, thus, the "world" is identified and condemned with rationalism. The Romantic ban includes all the works, records, means of expression, characteristic of the "world," especially science and books recording knowledge.

Emotionally the "world" is negative; it is "cold"; without "heart." Ethically the term "world," meaning the sum of the external or objective will, marks the Romantic assumption of the absolute disparateness and irreconcilable antagonism between that and the inner, subjective will. Owing, further, to the central animism of the Romantic view, all the terms and antitheses are personified into living forces and conflicts.

In the conception of the "world" there reappears the fundamental Romantic paradox. Theoretically, on the Romantic assumption of the primacy of the subjective being, the "world" must be discovered ultimately as the creation of that being. The "world," too, must consistently be the child of the Romantic "soul" and not a changeless from nowhere, as Romanticism pretends. But, practically, there *are* the concrete actualities of the "world," which will not yield to any theoretic trumpets of Jericho. The "world" *does* act in opposition to the essence of the "soul." Compromise is impossible. If allowed to remain in the temple of the inner being, the "world" must destroy the totalistic integrity of the "soul."¹ If, then, the paradox will not yield to intellectual light, it will have to yield to naïve

¹ Cf. the priest's two speeches on concentration and integrity (ll. 946-70 and 979-96) in Grillparzer's *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*.

Cf. my edition of the drama, Introduction, pp. xxiv-lxiv; lxix-lxxxi (2d ed., Henry Holt & Co., 1914).

emotional heat. The "world" is offensive to the inner being, and so it becomes a term of reproach. It has nothing in common with "nature"; it is in no wise a symbol of the spirit; it is in no way a tabernacle of God. It is the embodiment of the evil principle, which acts in all that is external, objective, analytic, mechanistic, quantitative. It is the living body of rationalism, the veritable devil of Romantic mythology.

We are now approaching the chief details pertaining to each of the three main parts of Romanticism—the intellectual, the emotional, and the ethical. The last one, involving the motives and standards of conduct, is treated in this paper. The remaining two, which will be seen in the Romantic view to be inseparable, are the subject of the last paper of this series.

The primary Romantic assumption implies that motives and standards of conduct are to be interpreted as motives and forms of *Gefühl*, or emotion. But that is not definite enough. Emotion is not in itself Romantic, nor does it necessarily become so even by filling, under certain circumstances, the entire field of vision. "*Gefühl ist Alles*," the principal Romantic axiom, is not as such exclusively Romantic. It may be part of other views of life. The phrase holds, for instance, an important place in the first part of *Faust*, which is, for reasons presently to be indicated, not essentially Romantic.

It follows that the Romantic quality of motives and standards of conduct must be found in specific implications of the term *Gefühl*, or emotion. The emotions, as to their content, include sense-perceptions, both as "percepts" and "constructs," and emotions in the narrower sense. The latter can be divided into aesthetic emotions, passions, and affections. The sense-perceptions and the aesthetic emotions are wholly unethical. They imply no personal relations of their subject to any other person. They are conceivable in a universe in which only one intelligent being exists. Their quality, even in its relations to the "inner" consciousness, is fundamentally sensational. The passions and affections, on the other hand, imply relations between kindred intelligent beings. The former are those in which the ego-centric interests dominate; the affections those in which the ego-centric interests are subordinate to interests of other intelligences. The passions and affections,

therefore, though they too functionally rest on a sensational basis, are, as regards their contents and characters, determined by ethical relations and values.

The latter two groups of emotions undergo specific changes in Romanticism. By virtue of the Romantic assumption of the totalistic identity of inner being, "nature," and integrity of impulse, man, even in his relations with other kindred beings, must act as if the universe held no other primary intelligence except him. Everyone, besides him, is, not only in place and time but in essence, non-ego. Any external influence upon his motives would be not only a disturbance but a vital hurt. It would produce *Gefühlsverwirrung*, confusion of emotion. This *Gefühlsverwirrung* is the chief tragic factor in Kleist's principal dramas. He traces it invariably to the interference of the "understanding," the mind of the "world."

This separation of the inner life from external reality, this absolute solipsism, brings about the sense of solitude, which is a favorite theme of Romantic literature and art. It is an object both of sincerest sorrow and pride.

Romanticism, by divesting the passions and emotions of ethical quality, strips them also of spiritual character. By turning them into pure "nature" it identifies their essence with that of the sense-perceptions and aesthetic emotions.¹ Their substance likewise is sensational. The "heart" is identical both with the aesthetic sense and with the instinctive desire; sympathy, with sensitiveness.

The totalistic conception of impulse limits spontaneity to a passive function. Romantic spontaneity is spontaneity without initiative. It is, indeed, the "treasure of the humble."

Moral freedom offers an analogous limitation. The Romanticists cling to the absolute primacy of the inner being because that assumption alone seems to vouchsafe, in the absolute sovereignty of the will, unlimited moral freedom. But freedom of conduct is freedom of motive, which implies active spontaneity, i.e., spontaneity with absolute initiative. The spontaneity of Romanticism proves to be a tragic mockery. It destroys the substance of the will, freedom, and morality. It is pure fatalism of impulse. The objective will, the

¹ The age-old confusion of the aesthetic with the artistic and poetic emotions has received an additional support from Romantic sensationalism. See the last essay of this series.

hated "world," is actually not the dungeon of freedom, but its only secular fortress. Beyond that there is no protection save the theological grace. Romantic "will" at the moment of clutching at its grail of absolute freedom plunges into the uttermost abyss of enslavement to its first cause, its "nature," or general disposition. The axiom, "Temperament is fate," coined by Romanticism, by the paradoxical irony inherent in the Romantic philosophy, is its verdict upon its own chief shortcoming.

As regards ethical standards, the necessary consequence of the Romantic emotional totalism is ethical relativism. The assertion that everything is right which is in accordance with the individual impulse finds its complement in the denial that anything else can be right. And further, since, in their view, the moral value is nothing but a foreordained second to impulse, why should it claim any attention? Romanticism thus becomes ethical indifferentism, which in its final form is moral nihilism.¹

These are the specifically Romantic ethical elements of *Gefühl* in their extreme form. They do not always appear in that form, but even in the moderately Romantic works they are sufficiently defined to reveal the type.

It is now evident why the use of the axiom "Gefühl ist Alles" in *Faust* is not Romantic. The fundamental ethical problem of *Faust* is the active adjustment of the individual impulse to the "world." The morality of the *dunkle Drang*,² which is equivalent to the Romantic totalistic impulse, is not absolute, as in Romanticism, but conditioned by the "goodness" of the individual. This goodness can be interpreted only, and in *Faust* is interpreted, in relation to objective ethical standards, regarded not only as independent of subjective desires but as more universal and superior. Goethe sought conciliation between subjective being and objective reality; the Romanticists sought the absolute domination of the former. A Romantic Faust could support no two natures within himself. His second "nature" would have produced only *Gefühlsverwirrung*, and invited, not as in Goethe's work, harmonization with the first, or subjective, nature, but

¹ As illustrated in Tieck's *William Lovell*.

² "Ein guter Mensch in seinem dunklen Drange
Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst."

its own ruthless annihilation. A Romantic Faust could not seek atonement by making himself part of the "world," but only by the opposite course of isolating himself from it.¹

The one-sidedness of Romanticism thus forces it ultimately into the identification of character with temperament, of emotion with sensation. (There is no good reason against the use of the term "sensation" to cover the "outer" as well as the "inner" sense-perceptions in whatever stage of literalness or generalization. The term lays the proper stress upon the unity of the process as well as the content.) By another ironic paradox, such as is inherent in any one-sided assumption, the men who aspired to become the specialists of the soul became the specialists of sense.² Spiritualism once more turned into sensualism. Extremes not only meet but interchange essences.

Romanticism has for its province the portrayal, *sub specie sensus*, under the aspect of sense, of the emotions, from the most violent passions to the softest and subtlest intimations, complexities, and fluctuations of moods, dreams, and fancies. The failures resulting from its fundamental limitations, its weakness of character, moral futility, lack of initiative and of sense of reality, unsteadiness of balance, are obvious in its products. Its devotees tend to lose themselves in trivial and even degenerate absorption and experiments in sensations for their own sake or go astray on the barren paths of mere aestheticism and introspection rather than choose truly creative activities; and frequently they end their lives as secluded and desiccated egoists. But the best minds among them have, in compensation for their one-sidedness, succeeded in tracing, with unsurpassed sensitiveness, consistency, and finesse, the marvelously rich and complex courses which the senses take among the motives of conduct. They have the merits, as much as the faults, of their virtuosity.

Every theoretic conclusion relative to life, however consistent, requires concrete verification. The abstract reasons governing Romantic ethics must take on the flesh and blood of concrete motives of conduct to prove their meaning and validity. Such substantiation

¹ This problem is further discussed in the fourth paper of this series.

² Fr. Schlegel's *Lucinde*, which won the enthusiastic praise even of the youthful Schleiermacher, is an example of this confusion.

has encountered great obstacles in modern Romanticism. The lives of the founders of the First Romantic School, the fathers of modern Romanticism, were too private and too detached to leave many direct and substantial traces at the present time. Their literary products, on the other hand, consist largely of theoretic interpretations of their literary intentions and valuations. Since, however, theoretic self-analysis is the office of the understanding and not of the synthetic emotion, it is apparent that the main body of Romantic works, with a characteristic though unconscious paradoxical irony, is a direct reversal of the doctrine primarily actuating it, namely, the doctrine of the "superiority" of the *Gefühl* over the *Verstand* and the consequent necessity of displacing the latter throughout with the former. Instead of subordinating the understanding to emotion, the first Romantic school actually established the understanding in a new rôle of ascendancy. Rationalism, though putting emotion in the second rank, had left it to its own devices within that rank. But Romanticism, while taking the field as the champion of emotion, labored early and late to force its mistress under the theoretic yoke of the understanding. It was in this respect more rationalistic than rationalism. This misunderstanding of its own fundamental motive, which is especially conspicuous in the works of Friedrich Schlegel and of Schelling, accounts for the paucity of its original substance. The very important creative achievement of Romanticism, which covers every field of literature, belongs to a later period, and to minds whose essential Romanticism was considerably qualified by varying degrees of open-mindedness to objective reality.

The few significant creative works of early Romanticism, among which those of Novalis and the youthful Tieck are the most important, are generally so dominated by theoretic intentions, so pervaded with *Tendenz*, so rigid with analytic self-consciousness, that they largely are rather obvious allegories of rationalistic preconceptions.

It is unfortunate that the critical essays, self-analytic fragments, and clever but vexatious and inconclusive aperçus of the early Romanticists have absorbed the larger part of the attention given to this important movement, especially by academic writers. "Glossant glossas, et glossarum glossas." An inquiry which limits itself chiefly to the theoretic self-interpretation of a creative movement

can never grasp more than that part of it which speaks in its theories. In the case of Romanticism, which by its primary assumption is not amenable to the discourse of the analytic understanding, such procedure can at best lead to the discovery only of its secondary elements, which it has in common with rationalism, and not of those in which inheres primarily the Romantic character. The essential part of the problem calls for a more direct method and for sources of information offering a more immediate form of authenticity.

There is extant a record of the motives which at the time of the culmination of the first Romantic era determined the development of a Romantic mind during its crucial period. This record is so minute, so sincere, so coherent without a break; it reveals such a sagacity in singling out the actual determining motive in every step and such sincerity and ingenuousness as well as verbal skill that the course and the details of the development of its author appear quite unblurred, even when, as is generally the case, his own theoretic generalizations, inferences, valuations, and anticipations do not tally with them.

There is no similar record of this movement, of such extraordinary completeness and truthfulness, because there has been no character like its author, combining such terrible and single power of growth with such a passionate, unflinching, and immediate vision of the inner forces driving him on, step by step, from the first vague feeling of discomfort caused by the conditions of his inner life to the final ruthless, almost mad, rejection of the last bonds linking him with his environment.

This record is the series of letters¹ written by Heinrich von Kleist to Wilhelmine von Zenge, his fiancée, during the crucial two years of his development, which coincide with the duration of their engagement. The correspondence begins with the year 1800, a few months after Kleist's twenty-fourth birthday, and ends early in 1802. It is singular and explainable only by the prevalent interest in the external and theoretic parts of his work and life that the numerous biographies and other writings upon Kleist have almost completely ignored this most important story of his inner life.

¹ *Kleist's Briefe an seine Braut*, excellently edited by Karl Biedermann. (Breslau and Leipzig, 1884.)

The letters are not a record of introspection, like, for instance, Marie Bashkirchev's self-revelations, in which the motions of a self-conscious attention spread the illusion of activity and development over an essentially barren and static inner life. In Kleist's letters it is the course of the active forces of development which determines the course of his observation. He is little concerned with his processes of perceiving because he is wholly absorbed in the inner action to be perceived. His observations are controlled by the highest dramatic objectivity of consciousness.

The purpose of this paper is to mark off the course of the inner life of Kleist as revealed in these letters. In order that the main line of development be kept as clear and graphic as possible, all matter not essential to the motives of growth and not directly and determinately bearing upon it, however interesting in itself or suggestive in other directions, had to be eliminated. The ban had to fall particularly upon Kleist's own theoretic generalizations as such in their relations to general philosophy.¹ These generalizations are relevant to our subject only in so far as they appear transformed into concrete motives.

This account will, in a concluding section, be supplemented by a brief survey of the forms assumed by the main motives of his conduct in his treatment of the principal characters in his greater creative works.

Heinrich von Kleist was born October 10, 1776. Very little is known of his inner life until the time of his first letter to Wilhelmine. Born in Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, of an old family which had contributed distinguished names to military and literary history, among them Christian Ewald von Kleist, the author of *Frühling*, he entered the Prussian military service. In 1795 he became an ensign in a guard regiment in Potsdam. In 1798 he resigned as second lieutenant, much against the wishes of his chief, who desired to keep the talented, idealistic, and cultured young officer on account of his influence on his less cultured comrades. This resignation is the first instance recorded of the explosive spontaneity and resoluteness which distinguished all the important steps of his career. He had come to the conclusion that the military life would not satisfy the highest

¹ The book by Ernst Kayka, *Kleist und die Romantik* (Vol. 31 of Franz Muncker's *Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte* [Berlin, 1906]), though based on very careful investigation, is inconclusive and external because it is limited to analysis of Kleist's own theories.

demands of his nature, and without a further thought, without any apparent hesitation, he withdrew from it.

His aim, which is stated in a double letter to his former tutor, dated March 18 and 19, 1799, his earliest recorded self-revelation, is the pursuit of happiness and virtue. His terms, quite unoriginal, are the current terms of the popular utilitarian perfectionist philosophy of that time. He matriculated in the old-fashioned university of his native city. He took courses in philosophy, natural science, mathematics, natural law, history of European civilization, political economy, and other subjects. He learned to read Latin and Greek. He also studied, though apparently without systematic guidance and in a desultory manner, Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, but, as will be seen farther on, he was not mature enough to grasp the radical significance of the *Kritik*.

It was not till the beginning of 1800 that he began to put forth shoots of his own growth, at first timidly, tentatively, and sparsely, but soon with rapidly accumulating force and variety, until, in a climactic burst, he reached the consummation prefigured in his nature. He began at once, in his letters to Wilhelmine, the chronicle of his inner life, the central subject of which is not, as he ingenuously thought, his love for his betrothed, but his fascinated and dramatic interest in the uncontrollable force which was in charge of his inner nature. An epigram uttered by Kleist several years later, "It is not we that think, but something within us that does," covers this objectivity toward his inner mental processes as well as his final subjective fatalism of the *Gefühl*.

In the first letter to Wilhelmine, dated Frankfurt a. O., beginning of 1800, in which he tells her of his love, he discusses his aims at length. He intends to prepare himself for a conventional career suitable for a man of his class. Law and diplomacy are uncongenial, the former because it ignores "the rights of the heart," the latter because it pursues self-interest to the injury of righteousness. Finance has no positive attraction. The academic career seems most desirable because it would offer scientific satisfaction and an opportunity to become a *Weltbürger* ("internationalist").

Thus from the start, even within the limitations of a conventional career, he emphasized in "the rights of the heart" the spontaneous

inclinations of his nature. We are not surprised to find him in the immediate future, in a letter from Frankfurt a. O., May 30, 1800, preoccupied with the *Bildung unserer höhern Seelenkräfte*, "self-cultivation." In this letter, otherwise of little significance, he begins his strenuous attempts, very entertaining in their immaturity and pedantry, to make Wilhelmine share his own development.

Frankfurt soon ceases to satisfy his eager mind. We find him a little later journeying from city to city. There are in the following letters a number of mystifying allusions to important missions. Many attempts have been made to define these as public enterprises, of a financial, political, and even diplomatic character. One writer¹ even concludes that his journey to Würzburg was undertaken in the interest of his health. Adolph Wilbrandt, in his finely written life of Kleist, thinks that even now Kleist was seeking a career as a poet. But all these conclusions rest on no tangible evidence and refer at best only to a part of his journey; and Wilbrandt's theory finds, besides, constant contradiction in the letters almost to the end of the correspondence.

Whatever the objects of these missions may have been, they did not determine the course of his inner development. Kleist himself never interprets them as ends but merely as means to the attainment of a livelihood or self-culture and promptly ignores them whenever he has a new step in his growth to record.

In his letter from Berlin, August 16, 1800, appears his first description of external nature. It is quite conventional. No original interpretation or form of statement, no Romantic "nature sense," appears.

On August 20, 1800, he goes to Pasewalk to see Brockes, a man whom his sister, Ulrike, had met in Rügen. Brockes is highly praised in Varnhagen's *Biographische Denkmäler* as a wise, upright man, friend and counselor of many persons throughout Germany, and passionately adored by men and women. He and Kleist at once become intimate friends and inseparable companions. They travel together and see some officials together. Kleist's admiration for Brockes grows with every letter almost to idolization.

¹ Dr. Max Morris, *Heinr. v. Kleist's Reise nach Würzburg*. (Berlin, 1899.)

Kleist at once speaks in a new tone. He is enthusiastic, almost triumphant. Brockes must have given him some ideas which clarified his own vague aspirations. The nature of the inspiration which must have come from Brockes appears in the following letters, which for a time come in rapid sequence and culminate in a remarkable statement and unqualified acceptance of Brockes' view of life. From Coblenz near Pasewalk on August 21, 1800, the day after their meeting, he writes that he has begun to keep a diary, "in which [he] daily develops and improves his plan." Brockes is going to accompany him on a visit to Struensee, Prussian minister of customs and assizes, for the purpose, probably, of securing a position which would give him a living. Kleist adds: "Our happiness is at the bottom of this trip . . . nothing can be lost by it and everything gained." There is also in this letter a description of nature, quite matter of fact, with no touch of "nature feeling." There is no indication of any literary intention or bent.

On September 1, in a letter containing another conventional nature description, after the brief statement, "Our business is disposed of," he continues abruptly with an account of his and Brockes' matriculations in the University of Leipzig.

On September 3 he is in Dresden. He is full of zest. It is five o'clock in the morning as he writes Wilhelmine about his life. He speaks of his intention of going to Prague after accomplishing another mysterious business, which also presently drops out of sight, with the British ambassador. He writes considerably, and with increasing emotion, about nature now. His vision is gradually opening, no doubt, under the tutelage of Brockes, who is a disciple of Rousseau. The following passage is typical: "Thus charming was my entry into a charming night. The road always ran along the banks of the Mulde, past rocks which, lighted by the moonlight, looked like shapes of the night. The sky was quite serene, the moon full, the air pure, the whole glorious."

This passage, while not offering original objective material, yet reveals a distinct advance in subjective perception and in concision. Comparison with the original will bring out more clearly the specific concreteness of his impression and phrasing. "So reizend war der Eingang in eine reizende Nacht. Der Weg ging immer am Ufer der

Mulde entlang, bei Felsen vorbei, die wie Nachtgestalten vom Monde erleuchtet waren. Der Himmel war heiter, der Mond voll, die Luft rein, das Ganze herrlich." The untranslatable compactness of the phrase "die wie Nachtgestalten vom Monde erleuchtet waren," the original, also untranslatable felicity of "heiter" as an attribute of a peculiar moonlit night, and the extraordinary terseness and pregnancy of the whole passage offer the first definite glimpse of his emerging originality of perception. In the remainder of the letter a reflection upon the relations between men and their environment—a favorite subject since Montesquieu and Herder—offers a hint of his dominant preoccupation. This passage also would lose much of its specific meaning in translation: "Das *Enge* der Gebirge scheint überhaupt auf das *Gefühl* zu wirken [the italics are mine], und man findet darin viele Gefühlsphilosophen, Menschenfreunde, Freunde der Künste, besonders der Musik. Das *Weite* des *platten* Landes hingegen wirkt mehr auf den Verstand, und hier findet man die Denker und Vielwiser" ("smatterers"). He wishes he had been born in a country which combines the advantages of both mountains and plains.

He is preoccupied with the opposition between *Gefühl* and *Verstand* which had dominated the German youth for a generation, since the influence of Rousseau was first introduced by Hamann and Herder. The odious connotations of *Vielwiser*, which by its grouping and antithesis to the first group are extended even to *Denker*, are characteristic of Brockes' influence, whom in a later letter Kleist quotes as inveighing against the *Gelehrten* as *Vielwiser*.

The Dresden picture gallery which he visits makes no impression on him. He and Brockes, confronting themselves with a choice between art, antiquities, and nature, chose the latter and make an excursion. Kleist is absorbed in sensations at first hand.

On the next day, again at five o'clock in the morning, his absorption in nature leads him one step farther in subjectivity. He becomes conscious of the emotional and motive effect of nature:

I was wishing intensely [*mit Innigkeit*] to see you present with me [*bei mir zu sehen*]. Such valleys close and secret [*eng und heimlich*], are the true home [*Vaterland*] of love . . . what a splendid effect would a brief stay in this ideal nature have upon your soul! For the view of creation in its

loftiness and nobility makes deep impressions upon tender and impressive hearts. Nature would surely awaken your emotions and ideas [*das Gefühl und den Gedanken*]; I should endeavor to develop them and create new ideas and emotions.

His purpose of training his own inner faculties and those of others through sense-impressions becomes both more defined and more forceful. The definition proceeds constantly along the lines of the cleavage between *Verstand* and *Gefühl*. In this cleavage the former becomes more and more definitely identified with the conventional order and its offices and obligations. This view and tendency coincide at the beginning on the whole with those of Rousseau, but after running the gamut of Rousseau's ideas pass considerably beyond.

In a letter from Lungwitz (following one from Oederau im Erzgebirge, dated September 4, 1800, 9:00 P.M.), written at 10:30 A.M., this desire to train minds is aroused when he sees girls on the road. "If any of them has only a spark of a soul" he wishes to take her with him, "to train her in accordance with his ideas" (*sie auszubilden in meinem Sinne*). He continues: "Ich selbst muss an mir formen und ausbilden."

In the next letter, written from Zwickau, there occurs the first deliberately aesthetic interpretation of nature. He is departing more and more from his old utilitarian mental associations. Comparing his present scenery with that of his and Wilhelmine's home he adds: "Here one sees nature, as it were, life size. That [the Frankfurt a. O. scenery] is, so to speak, like one of the occasional pieces of great artists, rapidly sketched, not without masterly traits, but imperfect. This, on the other hand, is a piece conceived with enthusiasm, designed with industry and genius, and placed before the world for certain admiration." From Reichenbach he writes that he is planning that night to write a poem on a pine needle. He is obviously in a state of enthusiasm over impressions of nature even in their most insignificant forms.

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[To be concluded]

THE FAY, PARTICULARLY THE FAIRY MISTRESS, IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN

I have elsewhere referred to the fay as a very minor character in Middle High German.¹ This opinion is not advanced because of its novelty; it will hardly be contested by anyone familiar with the literature, and some phases of the matter have been touched on incidentally by students in this field. However, since no exposition of the material on which these conclusions are based, has been made, it may well be in order.

In the February, 1913, issue of the *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Wortforschung*, Professor J. A. Walz, writing on "Fei, Fee . . . Elfe," says:

Schon in mhd. Zeit ist das altfranzösische feie oder faie ins Deutsche aufgenommen worden als veie oder veine. Es findet sich bei verschiedenen höfischen Dichtern, doch ist nicht eigentlich volkstümlich geworden. Der Grund für die Aufnahme des Wortes ins Mhd. ist genau derselbe, der im 18. Jahrhundert bei der Einführung von Fee wirksam war: es gab im Deutschen kein Wort, um diese Wesen der französisch-keltischen² Überlieferung zu bezeichnen, oder anders ausgedrückt, der deutsche Volksglaube des Mittelalters kannte keine übernatürlichen Wesen, die genau den französischen faies entsprochen hätten. Es gab wohl weibliche Wesen, die in Berg und Wald und Wasser hausten, waltminnen, merwip, wildiu wip u.s.w., die mehr oder weniger Ähnlichkeit mit den französischen faies hatten, aber es mangelte diesen Elementargeistern das Feine, das Menschlich-Anziehende, das Durchgebildete der faies. Die enge Verbindung zwischen Rittertum und Feenwelt ist ein Werk der französischen Dichtung. Zugleich mit dieser Dichtung kam auch das Wort veie in die mhd. Literatur.

Naturally, then, we should look for the word *veine* or *fei* in works which are adaptations of, or in some way stand very close to, the French. As a matter of fact, the word is not of common occurrence at all, for the reason we have just mentioned, namely, that it represented something so little known or understood. For the same

¹ "Elementargeister as Literary Characters in the MHG Epic," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April, 1916.

² The *waltminne* and the *merwip* may be said to bear some resemblance to the Celtic fairy, but the *wildes wip* can in no sense be compared with that being. Cf. the article referred to in the preceding note.

reason, too, it is not surprising that in most cases it is used of some character that does not appear in the poem, but is referred to, usually in connection with something marvelous. Albrecht von Halberstadt describes a beautiful woman by saying,

einer wilden feyen
gellche sie erlûchte.¹

In Heinrich vom Tûrlin's version of the Lanzelet story—a fragment called *Der Mantel*—we hear of the magic power of the test-mantel, wrought by fairy hands:

dem werke noch dem sîden
kunde sich niht glîchen
sô daz in allen rîchen
ie dehein man gesæhe
dem er sô guotes jæhe;
wand in ein fein durch frouwen nît
worhte vor der hôchzit.
diu feine worht den phelle
sô daz er velle:
swelhiu frowe u.s.w. [580].²

Ulrich's *Lanzelet* (5764) also has the story of a fairy gift of a cloak which has power to reveal secrets (5995). *Garel* (11929) contains another reference in point. A giant whom Garel has conquered and permitted to live, brings the knight a magic salve of which he claims:

"nieman ist sô sêre wunt
swenne man die salben strichen dran,
er werde ein wol gesunter man.
ein wîsiu merfeine
meistert si mit wîser hant."

And it will also be remembered that Petitcreu, Gilan's diminutive dog, for the possession of which Tristan does deeds of prowess, is of fairy origin, as the following lines attest:

ein hundelîn
daz was gefeinet, hôrte ich sagen,
und wart dem herzogen gesant

¹ In a fragment published in *Germania*, X, 240. I am told on good authority that this is the first known appearance of the word in German. Another such simile is found in the *Krone*, 7738:

Bî kleidern sô rîchen
Môhte ich sie wol gellchen
Einer fel an der schône.

² The *fein* is mentioned again in l. 771.

ûz Avalûn, der feinen lant,
 von einer gotinne
 durch liebe und durch minne [15809].

I have found two instances¹ where the *fei* appears in the story in *propria persona*. Both are from Berthold von Holle. In *Darifant* the knight accedes to the request of Fiolede, a *fei*, to accompany her to Spain where, it appears, an "aventûre von einer maget" awaits him. The other case occurs in *Demantin*. The hero comes into the realm of Pheradzoye, queen of fays, and is there served by "pheien." We shall view these two stories from another angle presently.

Finally, in this enumeration there should be mentioned a slightly different designation of the same character. It was perfectly natural that attempts should be made to render the word *fei* more intelligible by connecting it with some figure already well known. Of the available *Elementargeister*, the giantess and the *wildez wîp* were from their very natures out of the question. The *waltminne* plays no part in Middle High German epics. Hence the *merwîp* and *merminne* form the stem on which the new word and idea are grafted. It was a comparatively easy matter to fuse these characters. The fact that fairy-land was sometimes supposed to exist in a region remote in the ocean or even under the water, coincided with the current conception of the *merwîp*'s home. Like the *fei*, the *merwîp* was beautiful and charming;² also was sometimes to be found in groups apparently segregated from the opposite sex.³

In the quotation from *Garel* given above, *merfeine* and not *feine* is the word used. Since it is a mere passing mention, nothing can be said of the nature of the fairy. In Ulrich's *Lanzelet*, however, we have quite a detailed portrayal of this hybrid character. *Lanzelet*'s godmother is a *merfeine*, and rules over 10,000 similar spirits. She comes "mit eime dunst als ein wint" and carries off the child to her distant kingdom in the sea. Loving hands attend him here. He is taught fine manners (241-74), and learns to play and to sing, "wand ez was dâ lantsite" (265). All the fays fall in love with him.

¹ The mention of the presence of "Onorgûe ein richiu fei," *Krone*, 1601, is hardly to be counted. Many worthies are catalogued there, of whom nothing is heard elsewhere.

² *Eckenliet*, 151; *Daniel vom Blühenden Tal*, 4280.

³ *Oswald*, 660 f.

After some years, however, the company of women ceases to satisfy him, and the queen has to send for "merwunder," those anomalous denizens of the deep, to instruct Lanzelet in various sports. It is when it finally develops that no one can teach him the ways of knighthood that the young adventurer leaves his fairy home.

This fairyland itself invites a word of discussion. It is an island in the sea, we are told, surrounded by a wall utterly impregnable. A vast castle, golden within and without, situated on a crystal mountain ('sinewel als ein balle') overlooks the land (209 f.). The beauties of this royal dwelling are not shoddy or transitory:

dehein dinc wart dā virne
innerhalb dem buregraben,
der ez hundert jār solte haben
ez wære ie ebenschoene [226].

So charming, so perfect is the whole, that when one lives there even a day he has no rest elsewhere. It is in short an earthly paradise:

ir lant was über allez jār
als miten meien gebluot . . . [192]
dā enwart ouch nieman hoene
von zorne noch von nide.
die vrouwen wāren blide
die dā beliben wonhaft [230].

From the foregoing it will be seen that we have to do with a foreign type with but slight additions of native material. All due allowance being made for the fact that the author was relying more on his written source than on his fancy, it is still worth while to note that in no other Middle High German epic is the fay so fully treated as in *Lanzelet*. May it not be because the character, here combined somewhat with that of the *merwip*, admitted of elaboration, whereas the *feine* alone could not be expected to play an important rôle?

What I have given is a practically complete register of Middle High German *feinen*.¹ Compared with the other *Elementargeister* so abundant in that literature, it is a negligible quantity. And yet with such a wealth of Celtic fairy lore throughout Europe, we should

¹ Other instances not specifically mentioned here are to be found in *Parzival*, *Tristan*, Konrad's *Trojanischer Krieg*, and elsewhere. Quoting them would add nothing to the subject.

naturally expect the influence of it on Middle High German to be greater than the foregoing evidence would indicate. And such is really the case. Fays, no longer called such, yet recognizable by various qualities, are found in considerable number in Middle High German. It is a question here of the fairy mistress rationalized.

A. C. L. Brown, in his study of Chrétien's *Iwain*, deals with the rationalized fairy-mistress story there. Since Hartman's *Iwein* is a close translation of the French, the points made in Brown's monograph naturally hold for the Middle High German poem. If the thesis that Laudine is a sometime fairy mistress needs any further proof, the evidence contained in a similar story written about a generation after Hartman should furnish it. I refer to the Pheradzoye episode in *Demantîn* cited above. The account given there is as follows:

A severely wounded knight whom Demantîn encounters explains that he has met this sad fate at the hands of Pandulet, who guards the entrance to Pheradzoye's castle. Pheradzoye, he says,

" . . . is koniginne
geweldig obir di minne: . . .
und obir alle dûtsche lant
geweldig obir di pheien,
di an den luften weien,
und obir alle di nu leben,
di grôz lôn dorch minne geben" [2991].

The knight guarding the "âbentûre" is on duty for six weeks Demantîn is told, or until he has conquered another, who then takes his place. The wounded man warns Demantîn not to take the risk, and the latter being intent on a very engaging adventure of his own, rides accordingly in the opposite direction.

He crosses a stream on a ferry, but in the forest which he enters he is unable to avoid a maid whose hunting dog leads her to Demantîn. She reproaches the knight very harshly for spoiling her chase, taking occasion also to heap opprobrium on him for running away from the adventure at Castle Gandaris. This is the third time the adventure is brought to his notice (the ferryman also speaks of it). Demantîn no longer hesitates, but recrosses the water and rides toward Gandaris.

Before the gate he meets Pandulet and puts an end to him after a brief battle. On the gate itself the survivor finds inscribed the law that he must remain at his post a year. There is no talk of revenge for Pandulet; indeed, he seems to be the only male at the castle, the service being done by *pheien* (3012, 3386, 3501). Hence Demantin does not have to hide, as does Iwain. His presence is taken as a natural consequence and causes no comment. But the similarities to the Laudine story appear in what follows. Pheradzoye, bitterly blaming herself for the loss of Pandulet—for it was she who met Demantin in the forest and turned him back to Gandaris—weeps loud and long. That is, six days long. Further mourning is curtailed by her maid's practical suggestion that she take Demantin in the place of Pandulet as a matter of expediency. Pheradzoye is willing, since her queenship depends on her keeping a guard (3410). Demantin's reply to the proposal is:

vrouwe, ich mûz und sal hîr sîn,
sint ich ez nicht irwenden kan,
habe ich vroude, ich arme man,
daz mir di sorge aldus heret [3434].

And so he becomes guardian of the castle. But so perfunctory is this service, so lacking in love his relation to Pheradzoye, that she again accepts the advice of the maid Andolÿâ, who suggests that she release Demantin as soon as another comes to take his place. This plan is really carried out, and Demantin, relieved, rides away.

With the exception of *Darifant*,¹ by the same author, this is the only fairy-mistress story in Middle High German in which fays as such really appear, and is at the same time the least rationalized of all. To be sure, it is in general the conventional mediaeval romance. But it will easily be seen that this version, while having something in common with the *Iwein* story, is older and, as it were, more genuine. Two traditions are fused here: that of the human lover of the fairy, and that of the guard or protector. In the present story the fay herself acts as messenger. The fact that she is on a hunt is doubtless a reflection of the older motif that the hero is decoyed by an animal

¹ Apparently a fairy-mistress story also. The fay messenger appears in the fragment that has come down to us, the "perilous passage" is begun, and Darifant fights at least one battle, after which he, though victor, must spend a given time in the land. We are informed that Effâdie, the object of his quest, is to be liberated from imminent danger.

while hunting. No such animal enters the story in this case, unless the dog which seeks out Demantin may be said to replace the stag, boar, or other beast which usually leads the human to the fairy. The difficulty in reaching the home of the fairy, while not a prominent feature, is still present, represented by the passage of the water (Demantin almost drowns in recrossing) and the battle with Pandulet. Then comes the sojourn in fairyland, marred, as so often, by a longing for something in the world of men, which finally causes the human to terminate his stay in the other world. In all this the fairy shows a passion for the man; it is she who is aggressive in the love affair. And yet she is not altogether free to dispose of her favors at will. Queen though she is, she is yet subject to certain restrictions.

These limitations arise principally from the other tradition in the story. It has been pointed out more than once that the guardian knight in such stories originally had nothing to do with the human lover, but was merely a servant of the fairy, later her keeper. In such versions as the present one, a condition rests on both fairy and guard, one of those laws which bind even such divine beings as the fay. Hence the nature of the "âbentûre." Its effect on our story is not hard to trace. In the first place, Demantin, who has no mind to turn aside from his real quest, is constrained to undertake the adventure. He finds his fate inscribed on the gate of the castle and does not try to escape it. His relation to Pheradzoye is not really a union. No nuptials are celebrated, no "Beilager" is mentioned. These conditions do not comport with the character of the human lover of a fairy mistress, and we cannot imagine any fay enduring such indifference under ordinary circumstances. Yet we see that Pheradzoye cannot dismiss Demantin until the condition has been satisfied, i.e., till the next adventurer takes his place.

Demantin, then, does not present all the features of the fairy-mistress story. A more rationalized type, yet one in which the old tradition shows through in more perfect form, is *Seifrid de Ardemant*. The old Germanic saga of Siegfried is here interwoven with an Arthurian romance. To this confusion are added various mythological motifs, making the poem excellent material for the folklorist. The reader who is interested in these details is referred to the introduction of Panzer's edition, where that very able editor has given

sixty pages to the analysis of the material. We can look only at that portion which pertains immediately to our subject.

Mundirosa, like Pheradzoye, goes in search of her lover. The author later feels called on to explain this, so we are informed that the lady was acting on a prophecy which proclaimed that she was to find her mate in a distant land. Nor is Seifrid's meeting with her altogether a matter of accident. The thing begins with the adventure of the flaming heath, well known in the Siegfried story. Being told in a certain city that he had better turn back since he could not cross the heath, he determines to dare it. Despite the flames and a terrible storm,¹ Seifrid comes through unscathed. Instead of the sleeping beauty beyond, however, he encounters a serpent, which he has difficulty in overtaking. The serpent is a messenger animal—the enchanted-lady type well known in *Volksmärchen*.² The lady released from this form is naturally the heroine. But the author's adoption of the *Märchen* does not go so far in this case, for when restored to human form this girl dies, and our hero is left to wander on till he comes upon the real heroine.

Properly speaking, the perilous journey is made only to fairyland. But the beginning of the episode in *Seifrid* is, as just seen, a story in itself with its own "perilous journey." And the idea of obstructive dangers is extended to Seifrid's further passage of the heath; although it is not attended by fire and storm, it is made uncomfortable by his getting lost and hungry; and in the end a mountain must be crossed which is surrounded by a thorn hedge and beset with "slange, lint-wurm, trecken," and "leoen."

Topping this mountain, Seifrid beholds on a meadow a brilliant company of ladies (and knights³) coming forward to greet him as an awaited guest. Mundirosa, leader of the procession, arrayed in her royal bravery, calls Seifrid by name, embraces him, and makes him generally welcome. She knows all about his previous career and has waited for him three successive years on this meadow. But Seifrid may stay with Mundirosa only three days for the first. Wonderful days! but soon past; and Seifrid must take his leave for

¹ Cf. Iwein's experience at the "Fountain Periluos."

² Cf. Laistner, *Rätsel des Sphinx*, I, 78 f.; also Panzer, p. lxxvi.

³ Evidently only supplied to comply with the author's sense of social fitness.

a year, bowing also to Mundirosa's behest that in that time he boast not the beauty of his mistress.

Here then we have one of the most characteristic scenes of the fairy-mistress story. The hero's stay with his lady is limited, sometimes by his own longing to get back among his fellows, sometimes—as here—by the command of the fairy, who in turn seems to be complying with a condition beyond her control. For the hero this restraint generally takes the form of a prohibition such as the foregoing.

Of course the hero breaks the command. For this incident again *Seifrid* is quite typical.¹ Restlessly the knight goes about the world trying his fortune here and there, and one day presents himself at a tourney where he is eventually crowned as victor. The prize is the embrace of a young lady whose beauty is not likely to be contested, since not to recognize her as the fairest of all entails the death of the doubter unless he can produce one fairer still. *Seifrid* regards the beauty with indifference, and is careless enough to remark to a fellow-knight how she would suffer in contrast to his mistress. The boast is caught up and swift judgment is about to be executed on his hapless head when Mundirosa attended by a resplendent train appears to prove his words true. *Seifrid* is released. But Mundirosa, after listening to his prayer for forgiveness, tells him sadly that they may not see one another again.

Then follows the usual period of wandering about, ending at last in the decision to return to the place of first meeting.² But the mountain meadow is empty now; only, near by he finds a hermit who gives him advice as to how to reach the country of his mistress. A griffin, he says, is in the habit of coming across the water from Mundirosa's land to fetch food for its young, and *Seifrid* is to make use of this aerial carrier. Here then we come to the real "perilous passage" of our story. But the matter is really quite simple. The hermit sews the knight into the hide of his slaughtered horse and the griffin obligingly bears him across the vast expanse of water.³

¹ Also *Gauriel von Muntabel*, a most unoriginal epic containing a fairy-mistress story, and incorporating a heterogeneous mass of borrowed motifs.

² One is reminded in this of *Wolfdietrich's* experience with the *râche* Elsa.

³ The perilous passage is almost always across some body of water, perhaps a brook, sometimes a sea. It will be remembered that *Lancelot* was carried to fairyland in the arms of his godmother flying over the sea. A similarity between *Demantín* and *Seifrid*

The passage lasts some days. After cutting himself out of the hide and climbing down from the griffin's nest, Seifrid finds himself in a wild country, still some distance from the castle of his mistress. The last stage of the journey is done on a raft, under the guidance of a "wilder man."¹

The story ends in the usual way. Seifrid enters the land incognito, vanquishes the aspirant, to the hand of the mistress, and, on making himself known, is joyfully received. Of course his arrival and rescue are very timely: a little more and the lady would have been beyond his grasp.

The essential features of the story in *Seifrid* can be found again in Konrad von Würzburg's *Partonopier und Meliur*, a fairly close translation from the French *Partonopeus de Blois*.² The tale has, at least at the beginning, the charm which the mediaeval author often knew how to give his narrative by depicting the hero as little more than a child. Young Partonopier, on the occasion of a hunt with his uncle in the forest of Arden, gives chase to a boar which leads him away from the rest of the company. Roving about for a day and a night in great distress, he reaches the seashore and there finds a ship, wonderfully made, "sam ez ein wilde feine / ze wunsche ir selbe hæte erwelt" (640).³ The gangplank is invitingly placed, Partonopier goes aboard, taking his horse with him. Wearied from his exertions he falls asleep, only to find on awaking that the ship is moving of its own accord and that there is no land in sight. He is startled and weeps,

sam die knaben und diu kint,
diu fruo zen noeten komen sint,
der si wâren ungewone [683].

just here is interesting. In both the hero in his anxiety to get there is ready to swim. Each is saved by a bystander from this certain death, Demantin by the ferryman, Seifrid by the hermit.

¹ Essentially the same type of character as the knight who guards the fairy's castle in *Demantin*.

² I have compared the translation with the French and find that in the matter of the fairy-mistress story they agree in all important particulars. Konrad is even meticulous in keeping the names applied to the fairy, whereas in the poem at large he allows himself—whether from choice or ignorance—considerable liberty.

³ French: "Tant bele con se fust faëe."

But the bark is more than royally equipped, so that the boy finds his passage rather tolerable after all.

The boat stops at last before a beautiful castle, and our young adventurer knows nothing but to land. Wonders continue to greet him on every hand. He is fascinated by the magnificence of the castle from a distance; on entering it, however, he is astounded to find never a "muoter barn" within its walls. Partonopier suspects that it is the devil's work, but decides that if he is the victim, he will enjoy the situation as long as it lasts. Accordingly he passes by the many elegant and inviting halls on every side and makes for the heart of the citadel. Here he meets with the adventure of his life. First, being hungry, he turns into the dining-hall, where invisible hands serve him a royal repast. This over, he seats himself by the fire and is presented with various drinks. Finally, when he is sleepy, two candles light him to his bedchamber, where still other unseen servitors bring him to bed.

Partonopier has all the optimism of unsophisticated youth. Nothing that could happen to him now would surprise him; but though he half expects death to be his lot, he thanks God that he has at least dined well once more. While in this cheerful mood, he discovers that someone is getting into his bed. This person, the fairy mistress, pretends great indignation at finding her bed occupied, but Partonopier will not budge, maintaining that there is nowhere else for him to go and that he is innocent. In the end the whole adventure is cleared up, and Partonopier learns that Meliur used the boar to decoy him and the self-sailing ship to bring him to her. She places herself and her kingdom at his disposal; for he is the mate she has chosen from among all men. The public acknowledgment, however, cannot be made till a date set by her two and a half years hence, by which time Partonopier will have become a knight. Until then he must not behold her.

The young man spends a year in this strange country, where his every wish is met by his still unseen and silent retinue. Only with Meliur can he speak, and she remains invisible. When he expresses a desire to revisit France, she consents and, explaining that she knows that he is needed there, even promises him the means ('einen rîchen hort') for the battles he must fight; but she warns him again not

to break the condition which she put upon him at the outset. He recrosses the sea on the magic ship, and on his arrival his mistress makes good her promise to him.

With all his battles won, Partonopier begins to pine for his loved one again. His mother draws from him the source of his melancholy and immediately sets to work to cure him of it. She lays the matter before the king and persuades him to give his niece in marriage to her son. By means of a love philter she all but succeeds in consummating the match. At the critical moment, however, the bride unwisely congratulates Partonopier on his deliverance from the wiles of "der veinen wilde," whereupon he comes to himself, leaves home, and finding the boat waiting for him, sails away once more to Meliur.

On his next visit home the mother of Partonopier seeks to accomplish her object in another way: she has the Archbishop of Paris come and reason with the young man. Partonopier is unable to prove that he is not consorting with the devil; indeed, under the combined arguments of the bishop and his mother, he begins to believe himself that he has been deceived by "ein geist, ald ungehiurez eteswaz." So he agrees at last to test the thing out. With a special sort of lantern, furnished by his mother, he returns to his mistress, and in the dead of night throws a light on his bedmate. What he sees is not a devil, as predicted; rather an angel—a woman of whose beauty the author says:

got selber vil harte fleiz,
dô si geschuof sîn meisterschaft [7872].

Of course a scene of stormy grief on both sides ensues.¹ But now comes the interesting solution of the supernatural element. Meliur tells her story, from which it appears that she is not a fay at all; she is simply a princess of Constantinople who has studied astrology, necromancy, etc., at the request of her father. This accounts for all her power. And that power is now at an end because of Partonopier's indiscretion. He will now be seen by her people (hitherto nothing has been said of *his* invisibility, but the people's) and she will be compromised. This is all forced, of course. So too the hubbub next morning when Partonopier is found with Meliur is a

¹ Of the lady the following lines are expressive:

mit herzewazzer si dâ twuoc
ir liechten wângel rosenvâr [7960].

tempest in a teapot, is rank nonsense. The scene might have been avoided by packing Partonopier off in the night instead of waiting for the telltale daylight.

The tale is long drawn out, but for us the conclusion may be briefly told. Partonopier ships back home in the vessel we already know. He refuses to be comforted, he lets his hair and nails grow, and neglects himself generally until he is on the verge of death. Meliur's sister finds him thus in the forest. She takes him to her home (an island kingdom, the gift of Meliur) and finally brings about a reconciliation. But in the end Partonopier has to overthrow a powerful suitor before he can claim his bride.

It can be easily seen from this sketch that the author—first the French and following him the German—has avoided the fairy motif at all costs, although it was inherent to an unalterable degree in the tradition. He simply refuses to take the responsibility for that phase of the story. The forest of Arden is described as “hisdouse et faée”—a remark which Konrad did not see fit to take over—and the boat is “as if” it were that of a fairy. The expression *veine* is used on two other occasions: once by Partonopier's would-be bride as quoted above; and again when the mother says to the archbishop, “ein wildiu veine in triuget” (7500). Neither of these is a direct statement by the author, who throughout treats the existence of fairies as a superstition. In fact, in both the cases just cited, *veine* is used as equivalent of sorceress or devil. The mother says in the next breath:

“seht, herre, daz erschrecket mich,
wan ich gelouben muoz dâ bî,
daz diu selbe frouwe si
niht anders wan der vâlant” [7516].¹

As the story proceeds the fairy element is put out of sight more and more. Whatever might have been due to it originally is explained on other grounds.

The motif of the silent castle with its service by invisible hands is employed again by one of the least original of the Middle High German poets, der Pleier, in his *Tandareis und Flordibel*. Here it is

¹ Cf. also 7468, 6882, 6903, 6828, 6840 for the same or similar appellations.

stripped of all its supernatural qualities by a rather prosaic explanation. After the completion of many knightly labors Tandareis, finding time hanging heavy on his hands, "nâch âventiur wolt rîten in dem walt," albeit "daz gebirge was so vram/ und der walt so irresam." He comes into the wildest region imaginable, and all but perishes in the attempt to cross a mountain there. Going down the opposite slope he discovers by the side of a waterfall a house grander than any King Arthur ever built. No one comes forward to welcome the traveler, who nevertheless enters and makes himself at home, enjoying among other things a sumptuous repast. Eventually the queen of the castle with her retinue of women returns. It seems that they have merely been out taking the air. The knight who spends some days here is still puzzled about the way things are done. Naturally Queen Albiun and her company¹ toil not, neither do they spin, yet there is not a servant to be seen. Albiun satisfies his curiosity at last by telling him that a corps of dwarfs from the mountain slip in every morning and do the work while the company is out (9676 f.). The inadequacy of this explanation scarcely needs pointing out. It is characteristic of der Pleier's clumsiness.

An echo of the situation in *Partonopier und Meliur* is to be found again in *Friedrich von Schwaben*. The hero pursues a stag in the forest, leaving his men far behind. Night finds him in the midst of the forest, where he has lost his game and his bearings. But at this juncture he discovers a house which, though seemingly without inhabitant, still offers shelter and food. In the night something keeps plucking at him as he lies in bed. On seizing the offender he finds that it is a girl, who now tells him a story of a wicked stepmother and the spell by which she condemned the girl to take the form of a stag by day. One of the things that Friedrich has to do to release Angelburg is to share her bed for a long period without approaching her and without beholding her. He does let himself

¹ "niwan zwelf man" are mentioned as a part of the company. The preponderance of women here just as truly as in the kingdom of Lanzelet's godmother, or at the court of Mundirosa, Meliur, and others, attests the foreign influence of the kingdom of fays. I believe that this influence is also felt where direct evidence is wanting. Thus we find Virginal living in her isolated mountain-castle, ruling, to be sure, not over fays, but over those—to the German mind—more familiar *Elementargeister*, dwarfs. Jerome in *Friedrich von Schwaben* is herself a dwarf, queen of a dwarf kingdom. She becomes the mistress of the hero, who later flees from her subterranean kingdom back into the world of men. After many years have elapsed a reconciliation takes place between the two.

be persuaded to look on her and so fails at that time to break the spell. I hardly need call attention to the fact that this episode is connected with various popular traditions,¹ but certain features of the fairy-mistress story are still recognizable.

One of the most delightful of the Middle High German epics dealing with this theme is *Peter von Staufenberg*. Although supposed to be based on *Partonopier*,² it differs from that poem in many respects, and in general offers a pleasing variety in the midst of a literature altogether too stereotyped. The story is very similar to that told by Marie de France in her *Lanval*.³ Sir Peter fares forth from his castle one day and sees a *frouwe* sitting on a stone by the roadside. She returns his greeting so warmly that he dismounts and talks with her. On the knight's part it is love at first sight. As for the lady she tells him that she has been watching over him from his childhood up; she has kept him from harm in all his battles, and has thus made his name famous throughout the world. Upon his petition that she be with him his life long, she explains that he has but to wish for her when he is alone and she will appear. The happiness in store for Peter is marred somewhat by a condition as usual. And yet the terms of the lady's proposition seem at first blush liberal enough:

swenn du denn wilt, so hastu mich,
swa du alterseine bist.
nu sag ich dir bi diser frist:
und wiltu trüten minen lip,
so muostu ane elich wip
iemer sin unz an din tot
und lebest gar an alle not
biz an den jungestlichen tag,
daz dich nüt gekrenken mag

¹ Cf. p. 303.

² See Jäckel, *Egenolf von Staufenberg, ein Nachfolger Konrads von Würzburg*. Marburg, 1898.

³ I was struck by this similarity before I learned that C. W. Pettyman had pointed it out (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, No. 21, p. 204). I have not read the article, but I am surprised that Schröder in the introduction to his edition of *Peter* does not lend more credence to the suggestion that Egenolf used some other source than Konrad for the plot of the story, however much he may be indebted to the latter in points stylistic. *Peter von Staufenberg* represents another type of fairy-mistress story from that found in *Partonopier*, and I feel sure without other evidence that the tradition comes from elsewhere. It is easy to see that Egenolf is writing under French influence. Cf. l. 799, where a court dwarf, a being peculiar to French tradition, appears.

und daz du niemer swecher wirst,
 ist daz du elich wip verbirst.
 nim swelch du wil, wan nüt zer e.
 darzu hastu iemer me
 guotes swes din herz begert,
 des bistu, frünt von mir gewert.
 aber nimst ein elich wip,
 so stirbet din vil stolzer lip
 darnach am dritten tage:
 fürwar ich daz sage,
 wan ez nieman erwenden kan [380].

It will be noted that the law of conduct laid down here is inexorable. The lady has no power to change its course. She regrets later that she has become his mistress and would unquestionably free him from danger if she could. The condition of secrecy which in *Partonopier* or in *Gauriel* is retained but appears silly and unmotivated, is here removed: Peter, when pressed for his reasons for not marrying, is expressly told to publish the facts "stille und überlut." He has every inducement to avoid the penalty. And yet he fails.

There is no other-world journey in *Peter von Staufenberg* for the fairy here, like Lanval's mistress, is a child of nature, at home everywhere, but queen of no particular land. Instead of the perilous journey to fairyland Peter's traveling takes the form of a grand tour on which he displays the splendor showered on him by his mistress. Upon his return his brothers urge him to take a wife, to which he replies:

"ich wil ein friez leben han
 die wile ich heize ein junger man" [665].

When older members of the family are brought in to convince him of the error of his way, he swears he will let himself be cut to pieces before he will marry.

At this juncture, as in *Partonopier*, a king brings his influence to bear by insisting that Peter wed his "muome." Cornered at last, Peter confesses the existence of his mistress, only to be told by a bishop present that such a bedfellow can be none other than the devil. The upshot of it is that the young man is prevailed on to consent to the marriage. Here the similarity with *Partonopier* ends. The farewell visit which his mistress pays Peter is lacking in all that

makes Meliur's dismissal of her lover sensational and absurd. Peter is simply told again that if he persists in taking a wife he must die. As a warning his mistress will let her foot be seen during the wedding festivities and that will mean that Peter has but three days of grace. The knight does carry out his purpose in the matter of the wedding, the beautiful but ominous foot appears over the heads of the wedding party, and on the third day thereafter "von Stoufenberg her Peterman" succumbs to the death which no power could avert.

It would be a pity to leave this little epic without paying tribute to its literary merits. It has the advantage of brevity with the attendant virtue of unity. In both these qualities it resembles *Lanval* more than it does *Partonopier*. In its ending, however, it is like neither, but reminds one rather of the Faust legend. The narration is concise and dramatic, at no point lacking in interest. My own testimony to this fact might be couched in the statement that this is the only Middle High German epic which I can boast to have read several times. It belongs to the class which Golther does not hesitate to call *Novellen*.

Indeed, the very technique of *Peter von Staufenberg* warns us that we have passed through the Middle High German period and are bordering on a more modern era, whose taste runs to *Schwänke* and *Volksbücher* rather than to sententious, meandering, and long-winded epics. The passing of knighthood with its infinite leisure and unbounded love of romance, the rising bourgeois influence in politics, religion, and literature, and the coming of humanism with its potent ally, the printing-press, bring an entirely new order of things and close the first chapter in the history of fairy lore in German literature.

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INTERCALATIONS IN THE NOVELS OF ALFRED MEISSNER¹

A considerable amount of interspersed material is to be found in the novels of the Austrian writer, Alfred Meissner, fiction which in the preceding generation enjoyed a wide popularity in German-speaking countries. Meissner's intercalations do not always take the same form, in fact, it is possible to classify them in a general way. Often they occur as mere anecdotes; at times they are present as a sort of sketch of a character's previous life, a fairly brief *Lebensabriss*; again they assume the diary or letter form; sometimes they constitute a distinct story within a story, in the manner of the *Ich-Erzählung*.² Save for rare and brief quotations Meissner makes no use of interpolated lyric material such as was so common in the novels of the Romanticists, following Goethe's example in *Wilhelm Meister*, and was still found in abundance in Gutzkow's ponderous novel, *Ritter vom Geiste*, which, as Klemperer³ has shown, influenced in many respects the *Zeitroman* of Meissner's times. Nor are frame stories in the manner of Boccaccio, such as Goethe, Tieck, and Hauff have popularized in German literature, present in Meissner's works. For the purpose of analysis it will be best to regard separately each of the styles of intercalation which are met with in our author.

As a rule Meissner's anecdotes are introduced for the light they cast on some character, either the narrator, or the person or persons about whom they are told. Considered from this point of view their presence is justified in the plot. They are narrated quite briskly and vividly, and do not interfere seriously with the progress of the story.

¹ The following investigation is the revision and extension of a part of a doctoral dissertation entitled *A Study in the Technique of the Novels of Alfred Meissner*, presented at Harvard University, in 1915.

² Intercalations, particularly of the latter two varieties, are of course rather common in the novellistic literature of all countries. Wilhelm Kaiser in his *Untersuchungen über Immermann's Romantechnik*, Halle, 1906, pp. 47 ff. points out how their too abundant use leads to "Formlosigkeit," as in the novels of Sterne and Jean Paul, although a novel without some interruptions would appear "marmorglatt und marmorkalt."

³ Victor Klemperer, *Die Zeitromane Friedrich Spielhagens und ihre Wurzeln*, pp. 44-59. (*Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte*, Band XLIII), Weimar, 1913.

Such an anecdote is the following, related by Princess Parergi in *Zwischen Fürst und Volk*.¹

"Lord Panmure, den Du allerdings in Florenz bei mir gesehen haben musst," erwiderte die Fürstin, "ist ein ernsthafter und würdiger Englishman, der sich vorgenommen hatte, mir hier am Genfer See einen Besuch abzustatten, und in der That hier eintraf. Nun, Ihr habt doch die komischen Cabriolets bemerkt, die nur hier zu Lande üblich zu sein scheinen und nicht wie andere Gefährte nach vorn, sondern quer ihrer Länge nach, in der Richtung des Rades zu offen sind? Lord Panmure steigt mit Murray's Handbuch zu Genf in eine dieser Kaleschen, fährt, den Wegweiser treulich studierend, von Genf nach Lausanne, von Lausanne nach Villeneuve, von dort auf dem savoyischen Gebiete über Evian-Thonon zurück. Er steigt in jeder grösseren Stadt auf dem Marktplatz ab und übernachtet zweimal. Nach Engländerart lässt er sich mit Niemandem, der ihm nicht vorgestellt ist, in ein Gespräch ein. Nach Genf heimgekehrt, sagt er endlich zu mir: diese Gegend gefällt mir ganz gut, aber ich weiss nur nicht, wie die Leute behaupten können, es gebe hier in der Nähe einen See. Ich habe eine Rundreise durch alle Orte gemacht, die man als am See gelegene bezeichnet, und keinen See auffinden können. Der Wagen, in dem der Arme sass, hatte die offene Hälfte der Landseite zugekehrt."

In *Schwarzgelb* a charming little anecdote is told about Frau von Sesie and her escapades with three students. It reflects little on the character of the narrator, Ostrow, who is of minor importance in the action, but gives a vivid idea of its heroine. Meissner introduces it, in fact, expressly to this end:²

. . . Ihre tollen Streiche — deren macht sie freilich genug — sind so harmloser Art — so kindisch, neckisch — doch, soll ich Ihnen, Prinz, einen dieser närrischen Streiche erzählen, damit Sie von einem auf alle schliessen und einen klareren Begriff von ihrem Charakter erhalten, als ich ihn Ihnen durch die geringe Kunst der Charakteristik, über die ich gebiete, geben kann?

But occasionally an anecdote may be related for another purpose than to explain character. An interesting case of this kind is to be

¹ See pp. 177, 178. The edition used is *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig, 1872. Other novels of Meissner referred to and not contained in this edition are *Die Kinder Roms*, Berlin, 1870; *Feindliche Pole*, Berlin, 1878; *Auf und Nieder*, Berlin, 1880.

² *Schwarzgelb*, II, 55, 56. It may be compared in this respect with the lively anecdote related by Leidenfrost in *Ritter vom Geiste* about the Theaterintendant, Herr von Harder. See 6. Aufl., 4. Band, 8. Buch, pp. 120-23, Berlin, 1878. Harder, it may be observed, bears a considerable resemblance to Baron Gospot-Kircher, Intendant des königlichen Hoftheaters, in Meissner's *Feindliche Pole*, and served perhaps as a model for this character.

found in *Babel*, where one is employed to motivate the naming of the novel. The father of Count Mersenburg, a minor character of the story, decided to erect a tower, "Eine Art Walhalla, — wenn ich es mit diesem germanischen Namen bezeichnen darf — eine Ruhmeshalle, in welcher er alle Nationalitäten unseres Kaiserstaates repräsentirt sehen wollte —." This tower, however, owing to difficulties inherent in the plan, did not reach completion: "Endlich liess er Alles liegen, und da ragt nun der seltsame Thurm als halbe Ruine auf dem Hügel dort und wird von den Leuten in der Umgegend der Thurm von Babel genannt."¹

Short biographies of the personages of the story are frequently met with in our author, whose practice in the actual writing of his novels reminds one of the preparation for composition of the Russian Turgenieff who first "wrote out a sort of biography of each of the characters, and everything that they had done and that had happened to them up to the opening of the story."² Such sketches are sparsely represented in Meissner's first novelistic productions, *Sansara* and *Zwischen Fürst und Volk*, and are more common in the later, particularly his *Zeitromane*, of which *Schwarzgelb* is a good exemplar. Although they serve to illuminate the individuality of the persons about whom they are related, it cannot be denied that they retard the action of the plot considerably. They are the mark of a diffuse rather than of a concentrated narrative style such as that of the Swiss C. F. Meyer, and they instil epic breadth instead of directness and dramatic progression into Meissner's work. His technique, in this respect, shows perhaps the influence of Sir Walter Scott,³ whose novels were so widely read in Germany toward the middle of the last century. Let us consider, in some detail, such a *Lebensabriss*.

Frau von Sesie has an interesting record.⁴ Her father, a night watchman in a suburban theater in Vienna, secures a position for her as a young

¹ *Babel*, II, 99-101. For other examples cf. *ibid.*, II, 87, 86; *Neuer Adel*, I, 143, 144; *Sansara*, I, 235-39; *ibid.*, II, 82-85; *Schwarzgelb*, I, 59, 60; *ibid.*, 166, 167.

² See Henry James's Introduction to *Memoirs of a Sportsman*, pp. xxx, xxxi, London, 1905.

³ "Scott hat die Methode: wenn er eine neue Figur entweder hat auftreten oder erwähnen lassen, so schlägt er sich allemal ins Mittle, uns eine historische und biographische Skizze von derselben zu geben, ja wohl von ihrem ganzen Stamme, . . ." Cf. Otto Ludwig, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 6. Band, p. 86, Leipzig, 1891.

⁴ *Schwarzgelb*, II, 87-89.

girl, in a ballet. Suitors are soon attracted by her exceptional beauty. The first to find favor in her eyes are the supernumeraries of the theater, and they are succeeded by a waiter. Presently she graduates from the humble garçon to a head waiter, who in turn yields to a journalist. The latter is supplanted in her affections by the attaché of an embassy. Subsequently her history is veiled in gloom until she emerges in the demi-monde of Paris, bearing the name and title of an imaginary and defunct nobleman. Henceforth she chooses to move in semi-aristocratic circles. She receives many brilliant offers of marriage, but refuses them all in order to maintain the secrets of her youth.

The police-spy, Burda, receives in part the following biographical sketch, the introduction of which is specially motivated:

Doch es ist Zeit, dass wir dem Leser eine Biographie des Mannes bringen, dessen Charakter ihm bereits aus der Darstellung des Chevalier bekannt geworden. Sie ist in Kürze folgende:

Als Sohn armer Eltern war Burda sehr früh bei einem Krämer in einer böhmischen Landstadt in die Lehre getreten. Er that nicht gut, wechselte mehrmals die Stellung und kam, nach mannigfachen Glückswechseln; endlich als Commis in ein Prager Handelshaus. Auch dort konnte er sich nicht halten und war im tiefsten Grunde seiner Seele mit seiner Stellung unzufrieden. Hier war es, wo er seinen ersten Geniestreich ausführte und seinen, in eine nicht unbedeutende Zolldefraudation verwickelten Brodherrn denuncirte. Er hatte sich als Preis bedungen, dass man ihm die Stelle eines Finanzaufsehers gebe, und diese ward ihm in der That zum Lohne. Da hatte nun sein Talent das rechte Feld gefunden. Er nahm, wo es ging, an allen Bestechungen Theil und verrieth die betrogenen Betrüger. Da er sich dabei stets die loyalste Miene zu erhalten wusste, war er endlich, für so viel Verdienste um den österreichischen Staats-Schatz, zum Revisionsbeamten befördert worden und hatte als solcher die Aufgabe, die Untergebenen, die früher seinesgleichen gewesen, auf der Bahn der Rechtlichkeit zu überwachen.¹

On rare occasions the intercalation consists of a document, such as letters or leaves from an old diary. Three insertions of this nature occur in Meissner's novels. In each case they have a direct connection with the story, either adding a shade of mystery, or offering a solution for something not fully understood in the past. They are also valuable for the aid they render in interpreting the characters of their writers, although they do not afford Meissner, as

¹ See *Schwarzgelb*, II, 47-49. For other examples of this frequent practice cf. *Neuer Adel*, *Vorspiel*, pp. 16, 17; *ibid.*, I, 85; *Feindliche Pole*, I, 26-30; *ibid.*, I, 151-53; *Kinder Roms*, I, 89, 90; *ibid.*, II, 29, 30; *Babel*, I, 94, 95; *ibid.*, I, 114, 115; *Zwischen Fürst und Volk*, I, 15, 16; *Sansara*, III, 105, 106.

they did Goethe in the entries in Otilie's diary in the *Wahlverwandtschaften*, a means of uttering deep truths and wise reflections on life.¹ Thus Reinhold, the hero of *Zwischen Fürst und Volk*, finds some sheets of a diary, yellow with age. They introduce an element of mystery into the story, for Reinhold is not content till the history of the author is cleared up. This intercalation, like the other two mentioned above, is couched in emotional prose, which is often elegiac and at times just falls short of being rhythmical. We quote a specimen of this prose:²

Ich kam eben nach Hause. Es ist beinahe Mitternacht. Es war ein vergeblicher Gang; noch kein Brief, keine Nachricht von Dir! Ich kam nach Hause mit der ganzen Last einer im vollen Gewühle der Menschen einsamen Seele, mit der Unruhe einer zerstörenden Unzufriedenheit. Es ist, als wenn Stimmen von Geistern, die mein Loos ergriffen hat, riefen: Agnes, arme Agnes! Aber mein stolzes Herz will von Dir Trost empfangen. O, dass Du nicht so fern wärest, dass Du mir zur Seite ständest — ich bin so tief unglücklich und möchte mein Haupt an deine Schulter lehnen! Einen ähnlichen Zustand ertrage ich am Tage und verberge ihn hinter einem schweisgsamen Wesen. In der unbelauchten Stube und in übernachtigen Augenblicken ertrag' ich ihn nicht, — da muss ich die Hände ringen — geisterartig! . . .

A similar intercalation is to be found in *Babel* in the letters of Julie von Weyher. They give the clue by which the mystery of the birth of Veronica, the heroine of the novel, is finally explained. Meissner accompanies these letters with the following interesting description of their nature:

Es waren die Ergüsse eines leidenschaftlichen Herzens, die vor im wieder aufwallten; eine Lyrik war in diesen Briefen, die er kaum mehr verstand. Die Geliebte sagte ihrem Freunde in hundert Weisen, was er ihr sei, und brachte den Hymnus ihres Fühlens nie zu Ende. Schmerz über ihre Verlassenheit, Gram und Zorn über die Welt, in welcher sie den, der ihr alles war, nicht als den Ihrigen bekennen durfte, Sorge, die das verspätete Eintreffen jedes Briefes wie eine beginnende Vernachlässigung empfand, dann wieder Glück, Jubel über jedes ihr zukommende Lebenszeichen und Liebeswort mischten sich darin.³

¹ Cf. Dr. Robert Riemann, *Goethes Romantechnik*, pp. 131-33, Leipzig, 1902.

² *Zwischen Fürst und Volk*, I, 100, 101.

³ *Babel*, I, 163. Cf. also *Neuer Adel*, III, 222-26, in which the long, hidden letters of Marie von Rosenstern are introduced to throw light on her character and reveal her past history.

But by far the most important intercalations made by our author are the *Ich-Erzählungen* which he scatters with generous hand throughout his novels. Each story of this sort is of course related by one of the characters of the novel in which it occurs, and usually has a direct connection with the plot, explaining something which hitherto has not been clear to the peruser. In other words we have for the most part to do with a type of interpolations which have been termed "nachträgliche Ich-Erzählungen,"¹ and which, while not essentially different from the usual interpolated story, avoid to a certain extent the disturbing elements in it. Since they illuminate something the reader is anxious to understand, they are somewhat more welcome than those which merely interrupt the action to tangle, not unravel the plot. In no one novel, however, does Meissner begin to use as many "nachträgliche Ich-Erzählungen" as does Karl Gutzkow in his *Ritter vom Geiste*, in which the obscurity, which envelops practically every one of the more important characters, must thus be lightened.²

A good case of our author's practice in this regard may be observed in *Zwischen Fürst und Volk*. Mention has already been made of the diary found by Reinhold. In it he discovers that the writer's name was Agnes and that her life must have been extremely sad. At various times the name of Agnes reappears in the story; thus Reinhold stumbles upon her grave in Zurich. Finally the riddle is solved partially by the story which Duke Heinrich relates. The latter had been Agnes' lover many years before. At that time political business had forced him to leave her for many months, and in this long period of absence Agnes had borne him a child about which he had known nothing. In an unfortunate hunting accident which had taken place immediately after his return the poor girl had been shot by her lover. The bullet wound had left her insane and undermined her general health so that she had died shortly afterward in Zurich. This we learn from the Duke. Later, in the additional intercalated story of

¹ Cf. Dr. Fritz Karsen, *Henrik Steffens Romane*, p. 78. (*Breslauer Beiträge*, 16. Heft), Leipzig, 1908.

² Cf., for example, in *Ritter vom Geiste* the *Ich-Erzählungen* related by Rudhard, 2. Band, 3. Buch, pp. 83-87; by Helene d'Azimont, 2. Band, 4. Buch, pp. 128-33; by Fürst Egon, 2. Band, 5. Buch, pp. 371-74; by Auguste, 3. Band, 5. Buch, pp. 32-39; by Major Werdeck, 3. Band, 6. Buch, pp. 170-73. Cf. also the long intercalation dealing with Rodewald's life, which, however, is not related in the first person, but imparted directly and baldly by the author, 4. Band, 9. Buch, pp. 262-85.

Frau Reinhold, we hear that Reinhold is none other than Agnes' child, and the son of the Duke. We should also mention the fact that a distorted version of the hunting accident had already been narrated by another character, Eberhard Siebenkamm. Thus there are three interpolated stories having to do with Agnes' fate.¹ One is reminded of the various intercalations in *Ritter vom Geiste* which have to do with the fate of the counterfeiter of many aliases, Friedrich Zeck.²

But the *Ich-Erzählung* also appears in Meissner's novels where it is not directly linked with the plot. An excellent case of this kind is to be seen in *Feindliche Pole*, in the reminiscences of General Aschberg.³ They are not necessary to our understanding of the plot, but serve merely as a foil for the principal theme of the book, the contention between Themar, prime-minister of a small German state, and his illegitimate son, Hermann Zoller, who is unacquainted with this relationship. Aschberg informs us of an early love affair of his with a simple English girl. Although she bears him a son, he does not marry her, and she disappears with her child. After many years the General takes part in a campaign of the Crimean war. At a critical moment his life is saved by a young English captive. The General effects the exchange of the youth, who at the last moment discloses his identity to him. He is no other than Aschberg's son, but he refuses to pardon his father for the wrong done his mother. Soon afterward the General orders a redoubt of the enemy stormed. It is captured, but only at the cost of the life of his son who is engaged in defending it. Herr von Themar, to whom the story is told, meditates as follows upon it:⁴

"Schrecklich, schrecklich," dachte er sich, "Solche Conflicte zwischen Vater und Sohn! Jener richtet die Kanonen gegen den Platz, wo sein Vater commandirt, auf die Gefahr hin, ihn tödtlich zu treffen. Zoller's Geschosse sind weniger furchtbar, aber vergiftet und treffen meine Stellung und meine Ehre. Dort hat her Tod die unnatürlichen Verhältnisse gelöst — hier geht der Kampf weiter —."

¹ That of Siebenkamm, pp. 306-12; that of Duke Heinrich, pp. 316-23; that of Frau Reinhold, pp. 328-36.

² Cf., *Ritter vom Geiste*, 3. Band, 5. Buch, pp. 28-31; *ibid.*, pp. 39, 40; 3. Band, 7. Buch, pp. 251-66; 3. Band, 7. Buch, p. 277.

³ *Feindliche Pole*, II, 234-53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

An intercalated story, which, however, is not related in the first person, is told in *Auf und Nieder*¹ by the scoundrelly Rothaan, who has long desired to obtain the royal favor. But this wish is frustrated by his poverty. He therefore decides to make a rich marriage, and narrates the story of the Italian cavalier, Romagnoli, who obtains an important court position by winning the hand of a rich heiress. An interesting case of similar parallelism may be observed in the short story, *Die wunderlichen Nachbarskinder*, which is interpolated in Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften*.² For a striking example of the same thing in the literature of more recent times, compare the Arabian tale of Prinz Mondschein in C. F. Meyer's *Der Heilige*.³ Needless to say, Meyer's technique in the proportioning and the correlating of the intercalated story is far superior to that of Meissner.

Meissner's *Ich-Erzählungen* are introduced in a more or less stereotyped manner, generally with insufficient preparation or motivation. In other words they do not appear naturally in the story, and place must be made for them in a somewhat arbitrary way. Meissner, like Gutzkow, might have learned in this respect from Hauff or from Tieck, many of whose intercalated stories are introduced in a masterly fashion.⁴ It is, for instance, difficult to understand just why the conspirator, Negroni, should feel called upon to repeat the tale of his life to Haldenstein and Grauwak.⁵ He begins:

"Da wir so gesellig bei einander sitzen," sagte Negroni mit freundlich geglätteten Mienen, "will ich Ihnen wenigstens eine Episode aus meinem Leben zum Besten geben. Dieses Leben, das so vielfach umhergeworfene, erscheint mir selbst oft ein fremdes, seltsames und abenteuerliches Märchen — wenn ich mich je entschliessen könnte, im Alter meine Memoiren zu schreiben, es gäbe vielleicht ein merkwürdiges Buch — doch ich bin an's Verschweigen gewöhnt, und mir graut vor dem blossen Gedanken, meine und anderer Leute Geheimnisse als Waare hinter den Glasfenstern eines Buchladens aufzustellen. Nun, wir sind unter uns. Auch will ich Ihnen nur ein Kapitel erzählen. Vorerst aber müssen Sie im Allgemeinen wissen, wer ich bin und wie ich der geworden, den Sie heute vor sich sehen."

¹ I, 103-9.

² See Riemann, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

³ Cf. Marion Lee Taylor, *A Study of the Technique in Konrad Ferdinand Meyer's Novellen*, pp. 49, 50. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1909.

⁴ See Karsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78.

⁵ Schwarze, II, 102.

In this passage Negroni admits that he is used to silence, but despite the dangers from spies and treachery, and his own bitter experiences, he does not hesitate to unfold the story of his career to two comparatively strange men.

Just why in *Zwischen Fürst und Volk* the Duke should relate to Schalk the episode of his youth, which he has kept secret all his life, is not clear.¹ We read:²

Setzen Sie sich, Schalk! Ich will Ihnen Alles erzählen, und damit dem Vertrauen, das ich Ihnen allerzeit geschenkt habe, die Krone aufsetzen. Sie werden die Geschichte meiner Jugend hören, welche so tief, aber auch so unglücklich wie keine war! Sie werden finden, dass es Zufälle und Umstände giebt, deren plötzliches Eintreffen Verhängnisse erzeugt, so schrecklich, als wenn Dämonen mit dem Menschen spielten und sich über seine Absichten und Zwecke belustigten!

In the actual narration of the *Ich-Erzählungen*, Meissner takes pains that the reader may be aware of the fact that they are merely interpolations within the novel. This he accomplishes by means of little asides, either of the listener or the speaker. Since such interruptions are customary in real life, a certain degree of verisimilitude is thus attained. An example or two will suffice to show the method:

"Verzeihen Sie die Unterbrechung," fiel Grauwak dem Erzähler ins Wort. "Mich lassen meine geographischen Kenntnisse für den Augenblick im Stich, und doch möchte ich, bei dem grossen Interesse, mit welchem ich Ihrer Leidensgeschichte folge, gern wissen, wo eigentlich diese Inseln liegen."³

"Erzählen Sie weiter, Durchlaucht," bat Hostiwin, "es war nur ein in mir auftauchender Gedanke."⁴

In the use of such interruptions Meissner's technique is far superior to that of the earlier writer, Henrik Steffens, who employs innumerable and lengthy *Ich-Erzählungen*, but who, unlike Hauff and others, had not acquired from Sir Walter Scott the extremely valuable method of relieving their monotony "durch leidenschaftliche Fragen und Ausrufe des Zuhörers."⁵ But our author does not err to the

¹ Cf. Kaiser, *op. cit.*, p. 49: "Die Ich-Erzählungen erscheinen nur dann angebracht, wenn sie sich ungezwungen in den Rahmen des Ganzen einfügen, insbesondere, wenn es der betreffenden Person Bedürfnis ist, sich auszusprechen, oder wenn jemand anders sich teilnehmend erkundigt."

² *Zwischen Fürst und Volk*, p. 316.

³ *Schwarzgelb*, II, 112.

⁴ *Sansara*, II, 45.

⁵ See Karsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 79.

other extreme as does Gutzkow, who interrupts his intercalated stories with frequent and tedious philosophizings and reflections and even impromptu debate,¹ so that the reading of them is at times rendered quite difficult.

These intercalated stories, which are often of considerable length, are complete in themselves with characters, action, and settings all their own.² The characters receive little attention however; the action in which they are involved, is of far more importance.³ Agnes, for example, does not impress us as a girl with a definite personality. We are told that she has a sweet, gentle nature, and a love for culture and learning, rare in a country woman. But this is not evident from the things she says and does. It is the hunting accident, in which she is wounded, which receives the bulk of the author's attention. The same observation holds true for most of these interpolations: it is not the personages, but the things which happen to them, which are of most interest to the author. And these things, usually, as in the case of Aschberg and his son, are highly improbable. These intercalations, in spite of the information they may bring, tend further to interrupt and delay the main story and force the reader to think of two actions concurrently with the resulting danger that the theme proper be confused. Since the events of the intercalated story have occurred before those related in the chief action of the novel, the chronological sequence of the plot is also seriously disturbed. Indeed, whatever may be said as to the merits of the other styles of intercalation, it is certain that Meissner's *Ich-Erzählungen* represent a distinct blemish in his novelistic technique.

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¹ Cf. *Ritter vom Geiste*, 3. Band, 7. Buch, pp. 251-66 (Murray's *Erzählung*).

² For other examples, cf. *Neuer Adel*, III, 179-92; *Babel*, II, 130-37; *Kinder Roms*, II, 130-39; *ibid.*, IV, 80-102; *ibid.*, IV, 196-201; *Feindliche Pole*, I, 127-35.

³ The *Ich-Erzählung* in *Sansara*, IV, 184-200, constitutes an exception to this statement. It is excellently introduced and correlated with the story, nor are the characters subordinated to the action.

DIE INDOGERMANISCHE *MEDIA ASPIRATA*. III

12. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG.—Die bisherigen Erwägungen haben das Folgende ergeben:

In keiner Sprache stösst der bisherige Ansatz auf eine Unmöglichkeit; andernfalls wäre er durch das Nachdenken der Sprachforscher längst beseitigt worden. Doch sprechen gegen ihn diese Gründe:

1. *bh, dh, gh* müssen ohne Erklärung bald als Verschlusslaute mit stimmhaftem, bald mit stimmlosem Hauch aufgefasst werden, und beide Auffassungen sind phonetisch fraglich.

2. Die Entwicklung von *bh* zu *b* usw. widerspricht im Germanischen und Armenischen der Richtung der Lautverschiebung.

3. Andererseits widerspricht die Entwicklung zu *ph* (die zum Germanischen und Armenischen passen würde) der griechischen Sprechart, in geringerem Masse auch der italischen.

4. Der Zeitunterschied in der Vollendung des Lautwandels von *bh* zu *ph* zu *f* (zu *b*) im Griechischen und Lateinischen ist auffällig gross.

5. Die germanische Entwicklungsrichtung deutet nicht auf stimmhafte Aspiraten, sondern mit der grössten Deutlichkeit auf stimmlose Spiranten; die Stimmlosigkeit wird auch durch das Italische und Griechische gefordert, während alle andern Sprachen eher auf stimmhafte Spiranten weisen würden; dieser Widerspruch löst sich aber durch § 14.

6. *bh, dh, gh* kommen in nicht-arischen Nachbarsprachen des Indischen, aber sonst nirgends in der Welt vor; das macht die indischen stimmhaften Aspiraten der Entlehnung verdächtig.

Ich halte dafür, dass diese Gründe den Versuch rechtfertigen, zu prüfen, wie sich der Ansatz von stimmlosen Spiranten statt der aspirierten Medien auf die einzelsprachlichen Verhältnisse anwenden lässt.

III. *bh, dh, gh* ALS STIMMLOSE SPIRANTEN.

13. ZUR UMSCHRIFT.—In den bisherigen Teilen dieser Abhandlung habe ich mich aus praktischen Gründen im allgemeinen an die

gebräuchlichsten Umschriften gehalten; in den folgenden Auseinandersetzungen aber wird es vielfach nötig sein, zwischen lenes und fortes klar zu unterscheiden. Die gewöhnlichen Mittel der Umschrift reichen dazu schlecht aus, denn sprachwissenschaftliche Werke pflegen diese Laute überhaupt nicht zu unterscheiden, und die im System der internationalen phonetischen Vereinigung angewandte Lenisbezeichnung (Kreis unter dem Buchstaben, z.B. *h̥*) ist aus typographischen Gründen für viele Buchstabenformen recht ungeeignet. Ausserdem wäre es sicher besser, für jede lenis ein einheitliches alphabetisches Symbol statt eines Buchstabens mit diakritischem Zeichen zu haben. Daher verwende ich in den weiteren Abschnitten diese Zeichen:

f, p, h̥ = stimmlose Fortes-Spiranten, *φ, θ, χ* = stimmlose Lenes-Spiranten.

p, t, k = stimmlose Fortes-Verschlusslaute, *π, τ, κ* = stimmlose Lenes-Verschlusslaute.

b, d, g = stimmhafte Verschlusslaute, *β, δ, γ* = stimmhafte Spiranten.

Der griechische Buchstabe bezeichnet also überall dem lateinischen (bzw. germanischen) gegenüber eine Minderung der Artikulationsenergie; bei stimmlosen Lauten äussert sich diese als Gegensatz zwischen fortis und lenis, bei stimmhaften naturgemäss als Gegensatz zwischen Verschlusslaut und Spirans. Die angewandten Zeichen nähern sich einigermassen der lautlichen Geltung, die ihnen in modernen Sprachen zukommt.—Gewiss wird man mir die Verwendung abweichender Transkription nicht als Eigenbrötelei auslegen. Ich bin aufs Äusserste gegen die Aufstellung individueller neuer Umschriftarten eingenommen. Aber die Bedürfnisse gerade der vorliegenden Arbeit machten es gar zu schwer, mit den gebräuchlichen Zeichen auszukommen. Und schliesslich ist ja die Neuerung nicht gross. Im grossen und ganzen handelt es sich um die konsequentere Durchführung bestehender Gewohnheiten. *θ* wird namentlich von romanischen Phonetikern vielfach für *h̥* gebraucht, *χ* fast allgemein für die velare Spirans; die Verwendung dieses Zeichens für die lenis (sonst wird es ja ohne Unterschied für lenis und fortis gebraucht) machte ein neues Zeichen für die fortis unvermeidlich. Will jemand ein besseres Zeichen für diese vorschlagen, so soll es mich

freuen; mir gefällt mein Zeichen nicht, aber mit dem [x] der phonetischen Vereinigung kann ich mich für sprachwissenschaftliche Zwecke noch weniger befreunden.— γ wird häufig, β und δ nicht sehr selten für die stimmhafte Spirans verwendet. π , τ , κ als lenes den fortes p , t , k gegenüberzustellen, mag am ehesten bedenklich erscheinen, empfiehlt sich aber wegen der Analogie von ϕ , θ , χ gegen f , β , \tilde{h} .

Zum System der internationalen phonetischen Vereinigung würden sich diese Zeichen folgendermassen verhalten:

$$\begin{aligned} f, \beta, \tilde{h} &= [f, p, x], & \phi, \theta, \chi &= [\varphi, \vartheta, \acute{g}] \\ p, t, k &= [p, t, k], & \pi, \tau, \kappa &= [b, d, \grave{g}] \\ b, d, g &= [b, d, g], & \beta, \delta, \gamma &= [v, \vartheta, g] \end{aligned}$$

(Zwischen labialem und labiodentalem f zu unterscheiden, ist hier nicht erforderlich, wenn nötig, liesse sich für die fortis das internationale Zeichen [ɸ], für die lenis griechisch ϕ verwenden.)

14. PHONETISCHE BEMERKUNGEN.—Alle Änderungen der Artikulationsart von Verschlusslauten oder Spiranten schliessen notwendigerweise eine Steigerung oder Minderung der Artikulationsenergie in sich. Diese kann verschiedener Art sein:

1. Der Atemdruck wird gesteigert oder gemindert.
2. Die Muskelspannung wird gesteigert oder gemindert.
3. Es tritt eine Verbindung zweier Faktoren ein.

Aussprachesteigerung ist also Zunahme des Druckes oder der Spannung oder beider Faktoren.

Ausspracheminderung ist eine Abnahme des Druckes oder der Spannung oder beider Faktoren.

A. STEIGERUNG.—Die Unterscheidung von Expirationsdruck und Muskelspannung ist nur eine äusserliche. "Druck" beruht auf der Tätigkeit von Rumpfmuskeln; "Spannung" im phonetischen Sinne wird auf die Muskeln der Glottis oder des Ansatzrohres bezogen.—Auf grund theoretischer Erwägungen wie nach Ausweis der wirklichen Sprachänderungen entspricht die Reihenfolge der Steigerungsvorgänge dem Kräfteverhältnis der betreffenden Muskelpartien. Das bedeutet: Bei Steigerung ist Druck der primäre, Spannung der sekundäre Faktor; solange Drucksteigerung möglich ist, tritt sie ein, begleitet von einer Spannungssteigerung, die lediglich Reaktion gegen

sie ist; ist Drucksteigerung nicht möglich, so erfolgt Spannungssteigerung als bestimmender Faktor. Steigerungen gehen also von der Lunge aus, sodann erfolgt Spannung der Stimmbänder, und Spannung von Mundmuskeln tritt zuletzt ein (in diesem Satze ist auf Reaktionsspannung keine Rücksicht genommen, sondern nur auf Spannung als bestimmenden Faktor).

Geht man beispielsweise von dem Verschlusslaut t aus, so ergeben sich folgende Änderungen:

1. Drucksteigerung führt zur Aspiration (wobei Spannungssteigerung meist als Reaktion miterfolgt), weitere Drucksteigerung löst den Verschluss: $t > th > p$.

Die stimmlose Spirans ist ein vorläufiges Maximum. Sie ist aus stärkstem Druck hervorgegangen, dem eine normale Spannung der relativ schwachen Muskeln des Zungenblattes endlich nicht mehr Widerstand leistet; ob zwischen th und p eine Affrikata (tp) eintritt, hängt von besonderen Umständen ab, die ich *JEGPh*, XVI, 14 f., auseinanderzusetzen habe, die aber hier nicht in Betracht kommen.— Der Vorgang lässt sich an dem Bilde eines Dampfkessels gut versinnlichen: der Dampfdruck nimmt zu, bis das Sicherheitsventil durch ihn geöffnet wird. Eine weitere Steigerung ist nicht möglich; vielmehr tritt infolge des Mangels an Widerstand Druckminderung ein. Auf die Sprache bezogen heisst das: Drucksteigerung hat zur Lösung des Verschlusses geführt; das Gegenwirken von Höchstdruck und Höchstspannung wird unter gewöhnlichen Sprechverhältnissen nicht andauernd beibehalten. Durch naturgemässe Druckminderung, die von entsprechender Spannungsminderung (Reaktion) begleitet wird, tritt lenis für fortis ein: Wenigstens ist dies die normale Entwicklung. Besondere Umstände können sie verhindern oder ändern.

2. Glottis und Ansatzrohr bieten nun dem Atem freien Weg. Drucksteigerung kann darum vorläufig nicht mehr eintreten, vielmehr erfolgt nun Spannungssteigerung, und zwar, wie oben gesagt, zunächst in der Glottis. Die Stimmbänder schliessen sich, der Laut wird stimmhaft: $\theta > \delta$.

3. Durch den Glottisverschluss (darunter verstehe ich hier natürlich nicht "Kehlkopfverschluss" im technischen Sinne, sondern den zum Schwingen der Stimmbänder führenden lockern Verschluss) ist der Atemdruck gehemmt und daher geschwächt. Gegen diesen

schwächeren Druck vermag Spannung der Zungenmuskeln einen Verschluss herzustellen; man könnte sagen: das Sicherheitsventil schließt sich durch seine Federkraft: $\delta > d$.

4. Der Atem ist nun sowohl in der Glottis als auch im Ansatzrohr gehemmt. Dadurch tritt eine neue Möglichkeit der Drucksteigerung ein. Durch vermehrten Druck öffnet sich die Glottis (nicht das Ansatzrohr, denn erst muss dem Atem an der ersten Hemmungsstelle freier Weg geschaffen werden), sodass der Laut stimmlos wird: $d > \tau$.

5. Der Druck nimmt weiter zu, solange im Ansatzrohr ein Verschluss ist. Unter gleichzeitiger Spannungssteigerung (Reaktion) wird die lenis zur fortis: $\tau > t$.

Die fortis wird weiter zur aspirata—zur stimmlosen spirans fortis—durch naturgemässe Druck- und Spannungsminderung zur stimmlosen spirans lenis—zur stimmhaften Spirans usw.

Somit ergibt sich diese Entwicklungsreihe der Steigerungsvorgänge:¹

$$\begin{aligned} t &> th > p > \theta > \delta > d > \tau > t > th \dots \\ p &> ph > f > \phi > \beta > b > \pi > p > ph \dots \\ k &> kh > \check{k} > \chi > \gamma > g > \kappa > k > kh \dots \end{aligned}$$

(Das Trennungszeichen [will andeuten, dass die Entwicklung der linken und der rechten Seite für sich zwar gesichert und notwendig ist, die Verbindung der beiden Seiten dagegen durch gewisse Bedingungen gestört werden kann. Für den gegenwärtigen Zweck aber soll allein die ungestörte Entwicklung der ganzen Reihen in Betracht gezogen werden; ich nehme daher z.B. keine Rücksicht darauf, dass der labiale Spirant labiodental werden, der velare Spirant infolge der besonderen Weichheit der Muskeln des Zungenrückens zu h werden kann; in beiden Fällen ist natürlich die weitere Entwicklung behindert.)

Sprachliche Belege für diese Reihen werden später gegeben.

Aus dem Gesagten leiten sich folgende Grundsätze ab:

1. **Was** wird verstärkt?—Solange ein Verschluss da ist (wie gesagt, gilt Schwingungsstellung der Stimmbänder als Verschluss), tritt *Drucksteigerung* ein; fehlt der Verschluss, so tritt *Spannungssteigerung* ein. Das heisst:

Bei *Verschlusslauten* wächst der *Atemdruck*: $t > th > p$; $d > \tau > t$.

Bei *Spiranten* wächst die *Spannung*: $\theta > \delta > d$.

¹ $p > \theta$ ist natürlich eine Minderung, doch gehört sie in die Steigerungsreihe, weil sie eine normale Entwicklung aus der Verbindung zweier Steigerungsmaxima ist, wie oben ausgeführt.

2. **Wo wird verstärkt?**—Verschlusslösung tritt dort ein, wo der Atemstrom das erste Hindernis findet; das heisst, bei *stimmhaften* Lauten in der *Glottis*, bei *stimmlosen* (wo eben nur eine Hemmungsstelle da ist) im *Ansatzrohr*.—Verschlussbildung tritt dort ein, wo dem Atemstrom das erste Hindernis geboten werden kann, d.h. bei *stimmlosen* Lauten in der *Glottis*, bei *stimmhaften* Lauten im *Ansatzrohr*; Lösung: $d > r$, $t > p$, Verschluss: $p > \delta$, $\delta > d$.

Darin liegt keine Spur einer neuen Theorie, noch nicht einmal ein neuer Gedanke. Es ist nur eine neue Aneinanderreihung von Selbstverständlichem und Altbekanntem; trotzdem musste es einmal in dieser Form gesagt werden.

Man kann das Gesagte in dieses Schema zusammenstellen:

Durch Steigerung der Artikulationsenergie erfolgt:

Bei stimmlosen Verschlusslauten—Lösung	—im Ansatzrohr.
Bei stimmhaften “ “ — “	—in der Glottis.
Bei stimmlosen Spiranten —Verschluss—	in der Glottis.
Bei stimmhaften “ — “	—im Ansatzrohr.

Zum Beispiel: angenommenes idg. * $\phi er\bar{o}$ entwickelt sich so:

- ϕ : stimmloser Spirant—Verschluss in der Glottis: germ. * $\beta eran$.
 β : stimmhafter Spirant—Verschluss im Ansatzrohr: got. *bairan*.
 b : stimmhafter Verschlusslaut—Lösung in der Glottis: obd. *peran*.
 Oder idg. * $yrtnt$:
 t : stimmloser Verschlusslaut—Lösung im Ansatzrohr: germ. **wur-*
θun.
 θ : stimmloser Spirant—Verschluss in der Glottis: germ. **wurδun*.
 δ : stimmhafter Spirant—Verschluss im Ansatzrohr: as. *wurdun*.
 d : stimmhafter Verschlusslaut—Lösung in der Glottis: ahd. *wurtun*.

B. **MINDERUNG.**—Die Steigerungsvorgänge bieten ein Bild der höchsten Einfachheit und Folgerichtigkeit. Minderung der Artikulationsenergie lässt sich nicht ganz so eindeutig darstellen. Eine Auseinandersetzung der zum Teil recht verwickelten Übergänge (nebst den Veränderungen der Artikulationsstelle und Artikulationsform) habe ich im Manuskript ausgearbeitet, doch da sie zum Thema in weniger enger Beziehung steht, will ich sie mit Rücksicht auf den

kostbaren Raum hier beiseite lassen und nur einige wesentliche Punkte daraus anführen:

1. Stimmlose Verschlusslaute werden durch Minderung von Druck und Spannung zu lenes, weiterhin durch gewissermassen automatische Glottisverengung (die namentlich zwischen stimmhaften Lauten eintritt) stimmhaft: lat. *amatum* > asp. *amado*.—Aber durch Spannungsminderung bei fortdauerndem Druck werden sie zu stimmlosen Spiranten, was jedenfalls in der spätgriechischen Wandlung von *ph, th, kh* zu Spiranten vorliegt; ein besonders klares Beispiel bietet die irische "Lenierung" von zwischenvokalischem *p, t, k* (z.B. lat. *pater*: air. *athir*).

2. Stimmlose Spiranten werden durch Druckminderung bei gleichbleibender (oder steigender) Spannung zu stimmlosen Verschlusslauten, dagegen zu stimmhaften Spiranten, wenn die Spannung gleichzeitig im Ansatzrohr abnimmt, in der Glottis automatisch zunimmt. Das erstere liegt vor in der neunordischen Wandlung von anlautendem *θ* zu *t* (engl. *think*: schwed. *tänka*), das letztere in der Schwächung von engl. *θ* zu *ð* in schwachtonigen Wörtern wie dem Artikel.

3. Stimmhafte Verschlusslaute werden durch Spannungsminderung im Ansatzrohr zu stimmhaften Spiranten: asp. *amado* > neusp. *amaðo*.

4. Stimmhafte Spiranten sind schon Minima von Spannung und von Druck. Weitere Minderung führt zum Wegfall (*amaðo* > *amao*).

Wie man sieht, sind einige Änderungen doppeldeutig, und es kommt im einzelnen Falle auf den allgemeinen Sprachcharakter an, ob sie als Steigerung oder Minderung zu gelten haben: so kann sich *þ* (*θ*) aus *t* durch Drucksteigerung oder durch Spannungsminderung ergeben, und *þ* kann durch Spannungssteigerung oder durch Druckminderung (vergleiche Verners Gesetz und den englischen Artikel) stimmhaft werden.—Wem dies auffällig scheint, der denke daran, dass man bei einer Wage das Gleiche erreicht, wenn man links Gewichte zulegt oder rechts Gewichte wegnimmt.

* * *

Auf grund dieser Darlegungen ist nun die Entwicklung der versuchsweise angesetzten schwachen stimmlosen Spiranten in den

einzelnen Sprachen zu betrachten. Die Frage ist also die, ob unsere Annahme die folgenden Gleichungen erklärt:¹

idg. ϕ = ai. bh , slav. b , arm. b , gr. ph , lat. f , germ. β						
θ	dh	d	d	th	f	δ
χ	gh	g	g	kh	h	γ

15. INDISCH.—Die in § 7 aufgestellte Vermutung, dass ai. bh , dh , gh vielleicht nicht lautliche Entwicklungen, sondern Lautübertragungen sein könnten, ist für den Gang dieser Untersuchung keine Notwendigkeit. Gerade weil uns der vorhistorische Lautcharakter der angenommenen mediae aspiratae nicht sicher bekannt ist, muss ihre phonetische Entwicklung aus andern Lauten als denkbar zugegeben werden; was wir nicht näher kennen, darüber müssen wir eben alles Mögliche zugeben. Zum Beispiel wäre nichts Unwahrscheinliches an der Annahme, dass sie aus den stimmhaften Spiranten β , δ , γ auf dem Wege über Affrikaten (Meringers $b\beta$, $g\gamma$, allerdings lieber $d\delta$ als sein dz) hervorgegangen seien: in diesem Falle hätte die Lautsteigerung (Verschlussbildung im Ansatzrohr) zunächst nur den Beginn des Lautes betroffen, während sein Abglitt mehr und mehr mit Mundöffnung statt mit Spirantenenge gesprochen wurde; wir müssten dann an eine ältere Periode der Spannungssteigerung und eine jüngere Periode der Spannungsminderung im Indischen glauben; Indisch wäre gewissermassen auf halbem Wege stehen geblieben, während Iranisch die Verschlussbildung beendet hätte. Das ist eben eine jener physiologischen Konstruktionen, die sich weder beweisen noch widerlegen, aber auch nicht durch Einfügung in grössere Zusammenhänge als folgerichtig begründen lassen. Persönlich scheint mir Lautübertragung der ganzen Sachlage nach sehr viel wahrscheinlicher, doch sehe ich nicht, wie sich darüber zu voller Gewissheit kommen liesse. Auf jeden Fall ist aber sowohl für Lautentwicklung wie für Lautübertragung von stimmhaften, nicht von stimmlosen Spiranten auszugehen. Waren ϕ , θ , χ die ursprachlichen Laute, so sind sie schon in vorindischer Zeit (in dem Dialekte des Indogermanischen, der zum Indischen führte) in der in § 14 angegebenen Weise (das würde in diesem Falle sowohl Lautsteigerung wie -minderung zulassen; weiteres in § 20) stimmhaft geworden.

¹ Slav. gilt hier als Vertreter aller Sprachen, in denen die Medien und aspirierten Medien zusammenfallen.—Auf die kleineren idg. Sprachen wie Tocharisch, Phrygisch, Makedonisch, Venetisch usw. ist verzichtet. Über Tocharisch lässt sich nichts sagen, die andern scheinen dem Slavischen in diesem Punkte gleich zu sein.

Es gibt, wie schon oben gesagt, kein indisches Lautgesetz, das diesen Ansatz mit zwingender Notwendigkeit fordern würde. Hauchumstellung und Hauchdissimilation lassen sich mit Annahme von *bh*, *dh*, *gh* erklären, ebenso gut aber mit Annahme von ϕ , θ , $\chi > \beta$, δ , γ , sodass sich aus diesen Lautgesetzen kein Anhalt für die Datierung des Überganges der stimmhaften Spiranten in *bh*, *dh*, *gh* gewinnen lässt. Nimmt man an, dass die Hauchdissimilation zu einer Zeit stattfand, in der noch stimmhafte Spiranten gesprochen wurden, so ist der Übergang leicht verständlich: **ḥaḥbūva* muss doch geradesogut zur Dissimilation geneigt haben wie **ḥhabhūva*, und da der Anlaut mehr Spannung zu zeigen pflegt als der Inlaut, ist die Richtung der Dissimilation gegeben. Ebenso ist bei Annahme von mehr Spannung als Druck (was zum Altindischen passt) die Entwicklung von $\gamma t > \gamma d > \gamma \delta > g \delta > g d h$ mindestens ebenso gut möglich wie die von *gh t > gh d > gh*.

Und doch findet sich eine Frage der altindischen Lautgeschichte, die sich mit Annahme von Spiranten leichter lösen lässt als mit der bisherigen Auffassung. Indogermanisches palatales wie urarisches palatalisiertes "gh" wird ai. zu *h*, während die palatalen reinen Medien zu *j* = [d'ž] werden. Die Aufstellung einer indischen Zwischenstufe *jh* zwischen *g'h* und *h* erklärt diesen Unterschied der Behandlung nur dem Schriftbilde nach, aber nicht in Wirklichkeit, als lautlichen Vorgang. Denn ai. *j* = [d'ž]¹ ist ein "mouillierter Laut"; wie sich aus den schönen Erklärungen der Mouillierung bei Sievers (*Gr*, S. 187) und Bremer (*Deutsche Phonetik*, S. 64 f.) leicht verstehen lässt, ist bei jedem mouillierten Verschlusslaut ein Abglitt in Gestalt eines Reibelautes unvermeidlich; je nach der Art der Zungenspannung kann dieser ein Rillenlaut, [ž] oder ein Spaltlaut, [j] sein, aber als selbstständige Laute darf man diese Abglitte nicht auffassen; [d'ž, d'j] = [j] sind geradesogut einheitliche Laute wie etwa aspiriertes *t* oder unser *dh*. Man kann mit gutem Rechte sagen, der palatale Abglitt eines mouillierten Lautes entspreche genau dem *h* einer Aspirata, sodass ein ai. *j* = [dž] schon an und für sich als aspiriert gelten muss. Zwischen ai. *j* und **jh* besteht also vom lautlichen

¹ Es ist sehr ärgerlich, dass die gebräuchliche Umschrift des ai., dem englischen Lautwerte gemäss, *j* für einen palatalen Verschlusslaut mit Abglitt, nämlich für [d'ž] verwendet. Hier wie an andrer Stelle versuche ich ein Missverständnis dadurch zu vermeiden, dass ich, dem Gebrauch der meisten Phonetiker folgend, Lautschrift durch eckige Klammern bezeichne. [j] bedeutet also den palatalen Spiranten (in deutsch *ja*), *j* dagegen den altindischen Laut, der phonetisch gleich [d'ž] ist.

Standpunkte kein grundsätzlicher Unterschied. Höchstens mag man darauf bestehen, dass der Abglitt des *jh* grössere Artikulationsenergie verlange als der des *j*; das würde aber zu allem eher als zu einem *h* führen—zur einem [d'j]—gleich dem *gy* des Ungarischen—am ehesten. Setzt man aber eine urarische stimmhafte Spirans ein, so wird die Sache verständlich, ja fast notwendig. Ein palataler Spirant γ' ist ja weiter nichts als echtes [j] (wohl ursprünglich mit enger Aussprache wie im Norddeutschen), also eine Spirans ohne Verschlusseinsatz. Der Neigung aller Satemsprachen folgend, wird dieses wohl im Urarischen mit flacher Rille, also als [ž], gesprochen worden sein, das dann im Iranischen zum engen Rillenlaut [z] wurde; dafür bietet das Romanische und Slavische Parallelen in Menge; vgl. Verf. *IF*, XXXIII, 377. Im Indischen dagegen, das zu Rillenbildung weit weniger neigt als das Iranische (vgl. Bloomfield, *AJP*h, a. o. O.), trat Spannungsminderung und dadurch Entwicklung zu *h* ein; in derselben Weise wurde im Griechischen idg. *i* zu *h*, wo nicht durch die umgebenden Laute die Spannung geschützt wurde, sodass Entwicklung zu ξ erfolgte, und wurde im Böhmischem *g* (über Spirans) zu stimmhaften *h*, χ im Germanischen zu stimmlosem *h* usw. Der Unterschied in der Entwicklung des Verschlusslautes g' zu [d'ž], des Spiranten γ' dagegen zu *h* ist also wohl verständlich, aber bei Annahme von Aspiraten kann ich wenigstens den Unterschied zwischen ai. *j* und *h* nicht begreifen.—Auch das ist nicht auffällig, dass für den nicht-palatalen Laut *gh* substituiert wurde, während sich der palatale Laut organisch zu *h* entwickelte: es bestand eine Klangähnlichkeit wohl zwischen arisch γ und einheimisch *gh*, aber nicht zwischen [j] und *gh*.

Unsere Deutung setzt voraus, dass die Hauchdissimilation in eine urarische Zeit, vor der arischen Palatalisierung, gesetzt wird, also als ursprünglich arisches Lautgesetz aufgefasst wird, das jedoch im Iranischen durch den Zusammenfall der Medien und "aspirierten Medien" verwischt wurde. Ai. *jahāti* geht also zurück auf ein urar. $*\gamma'e\gamma'ēti > *g'e\gamma'ēti > *[d'zāzāti]$.

So legt uns wenigstens Ein Punkt des indischen Lautstandes die Auffassung nahe, palatales *gh*, und damit doch wohl *gh* überhaupt, sei Spirant gewesen. Doch lässt das Indische nicht auf stimmlose, sondern nur auf stimmhafte Spirans schliessen.

16. DIE SPRACHEN MIT *b, d, g*.—Fünf Gruppen des Idg., nämlich Iranisch, Balto-Slavisch, Albanesisch, Keltisch, Armenisch, haben *b, d, g* als Vertreter von idg. *ϕ, θ, χ*. In der teilweisen Vertretung dieser Laute und des idg. *b, d, g* durch *β, δ, γ* werden wir jedenfalls nicht eine Bewahrung des Alten, sondern eine spätere Lautminderung zu erblicken haben, wie ja auch im Bairischen germanisch *-β-* zuerst zum Verschlusslaut *b, π*, später aber wieder zum Reibelaut *β* wurde.

Das Armenische, ebenso wie das Germanische, besitzt eine Lautverschiebung, das heisst eine allgemeine Lautsteigerung der indogermanischen Verschlusslaute. Nach § 14 müssen wir *β, δ, γ* als Steigerungsvorstufe von *b, d, g* auffassen. Für das Armenische ist also als folgerichtiger Teil der Lautverschiebung die Reihe *ϕ, θ, χ > β, δ, γ > b, d, g* anzunehmen. Es lässt sich kein sicherer Grund denken, warum es in den andern vier Gruppen anders gewesen sein sollte. Wir tun also wohl am besten, für alle fünf Gruppen von stimmhaften Spiranten auszugehen. Dass diese ihrerseits von stimmlosen Spiranten kommen, lässt sich vom einzelsprachlichen Standpunkte zwar nur für das Armenische wahrscheinlich machen, weil nur dieses eine Anwendung der Steigerungsreihe von § 14 rechtfertigt, aber selbstverständlich muss der für eine Sprache gewonnene Ausgangslaut verallgemeinert werden. Weiteres darüber in § 20.

17. GRIECHISCH.—Der Übergang von stimmlosen Spiranten in stimmlose Verschlusslaute mag auf den ersten Blick auffällig erscheinen. Er ist aber in zweierlei Spracherscheinungen historisch belegt:

Erstens sind stimmlose Spiranten keineswegs häufige Laute; Sprachen, die den einen oder den andern dieser Laute nicht besitzen, pflegen bei der Aussprache von Fremdwörtern dafür Verschlusslaute zu substituieren, und zwar in Nachahmung des Klangeindrucks am öftesten aspirierte (sogar manchmal affrizierte). So ist das ganz allgemein der Fall bei der Aussprache des deutschen *ch* durch Engländer, Romanen usw. Für das englische *th* pflegen Deutsche *t* zu gebrauchen. Für *f* in deutschen Wörtern wird im Litauischen *p*, im (älteren) Slavischen *b* eingesetzt.

Zweitens fehlt es auch nicht an Beispielen einer lautlichen Entwicklung dieser Art. Sie erklären sich aus Minderung des Druckes bei gleichbleibender, vielleicht sogar wachsender Spannung (§ 14).

So wird anlautendes θ —im Anlaut ist die Spannung am grössten, relativ wie absolut—im Neunordischen zu t (während, was für die Minderungstendenz dieser Sprachen bezeichnend ist, stimmlose inlautende Spiranten in stimmhafter Umgebung stimmhaft wurden, später aber teilweise schwanden). Im Neugriechischen ist der Übergang häufig; Belege dafür finden sich in Menge (für θ zu τ und den selteneren Übergang von χ zu κ siehe Mullach, *Grammatik der griechischen Vulgärsprache*, S. 28, 89, 94; Foy, *Lautsystem der griechischen Vulgärsprache*, S. 6, 7, 9; Ascoli, *VL*, S. 133 ff.; Kretschmer, *Der heutige lesbische Dialekt*, S. 157; bei Foy, S. 11, werden auch Belege für den Wandel von ϕ zu π gegeben). Bei den Dentalen ist der Übergang begreiflicherweise viel verbreiteter als bei den Labialen und Velaren. Das liegt daran, dass Lautveränderungen dieser Art überhaupt von den Dentalen auszugehen pflegen und bei ihnen am weitesten gehen (vgl. Verf. *JEGPh*, XVI, 11 und 14), und daran, dass labiale Spiranten gern labiodental, velare Spiranten wegen der Weichheit der Muskeln des Zungenrückens leicht zu h werden, Verwandlungen, die dem Übergang in Verschlusslaute hinderlich sind.

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[To be concluded]

